UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

National Park Service

African American Historic Resources in Arlington County, Virginia

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information.

____X___ New Submission _____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

African American Historic Resources in Arlington County, Virginia

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Introduction / Statement of Significance
Agrarian Development from Settlement to Emancipation (1608-1860)
Union Occupation during the Civil War (1861-1865)
Settlements during Reconstruction (1865-1902)
Suburbanization during the Jim Crow Era (1902-1940)
Urban Renewal during the Civil Rights Movement (1940-1973)
African American Communities in Arlington County
African American Architects, Builders, and Developers in Arlington County
Architectural Styles in Arlington's African American Neighborhoods

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July 24, 2017

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

_____ _____ _____
Signature of certifying official Title Date

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I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

_____ _____
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

National Park Service

African American Historic Resources in Arlington County, Virginia

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Introduction / Statement of Significance

Africans and people of African descent have played a significant role in the development of present-day Arlington County, Virginia since their first forced migration to the region in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. Because the land comprising present-day Arlington County was predominantly put into agricultural use until after the Civil War, most arrived as enslaved laborers for the early production of commodities such as tobacco and wheat. Africans and their descendants were also active in the building and construction trades, as their forced labor was directed towards the construction of houses, outbuildings, roads, and other infrastructure throughout the county and adjacent areas.

In the decade following the American Revolution (1765-1783), Alexandria County of the District of Columbia was surveyed for inclusion within the new U.S. capital boundary. The designation was formalized in 1801 yet the area remained under Virginia law. In 1802, George Washington Parke Custis established Arlington House with a number of enslaved African American families from Mount Vernon. During this time, a limited number of free African Americans immigrated to the region and established small farms alongside white yeoman farmers. A small number of enslaved individuals were manumitted by their owners and remained in the County to farm land near their still-enslaved families.

Generally, the population of free and enslaved African Americans increased until 1840; however, the trend reversed due to multiple factors between 1840 and 1860. In 1846, white Alexandrians voted to retrocede to the Commonwealth of Virginia as federal lawmakers considered banning slavery throughout the District of Columbia. While free African Americans could not vote, they responded by moving North, resulting in significant declines in this sector of the population.[1] The number of enslaved inhabitants also dipped in this period as progressive Northerners who did not use enslaved labor began to purchase smaller farms in the region and a small number of plantation owners began to emancipate labor in wills and deeds. Upon his death in 1857, Custis's will stipulated that his enslaved labor be freed within in five years.

The Civil War (1861-1865) profoundly changed Alexandria County as the Federal armies crossed the Potomac and occupied the area on May 24, 1861, the day after Virginia ratified its articles of Secession. The Federal Government established Freedman's Village on the Arlington House grounds to accommodate the large numbers of free and contraband blacks fleeing to the North who found refuge in the Union-occupied county. A number of significant churches and Reconstruction-era neighborhoods such as Nauck and Arlington View stem from communities within the village. During the same period, Arlington National Cemetery was established on the Arlington House grounds and contained an African American section from its inception.

During Reconstruction, African Americans in Alexandria County settled in about a dozen communities and worked in agriculture, education, industry, the military, and local commerce and politics. Much of the gains made during this period were subsequently lost under the 1902 Virginia Constitution, which restricted if not abolished most opportunities. This post-Reconstruction period and its attendant racial animosity and hostility towards African Americans resulted in many leaving the South and Virginia for greater opportunities in the North during the First and Second Great Migrations between 1910 to 1950.

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[1] Dorothy S. Provine, *Alexandria County, Virginia: Free Negro Registers, 1797-1861* (Westminster, Md.: Heritage Books, 1990), 60.

Leading up to World War I and World II, the build-up of the Federal civil service resulted in tremendous growth in Arlington County, which dramatically reshaped its communities. While the federal government provided African Americans with jobs at Fort Myer and the USDA Experimental Farm located on the former Arlington House Plantation, the African American population stagnated, and the white population markedly increased.[2] In the 1930s and 1940s, many of Arlington's early African American communities were dismantled and consolidated during explosive mid-century growth, which included the rapid construction of numerous subdivisions, highway projects, the Pentagon, and Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport.[3]

While people of African descent have settled in Arlington County over the course of 300 years, the settlement patterns and demographics have changed dramatically from an agricultural region with enslaved black laborers in the eighteenth century, to an African American majority county with numerous small villages in the late-nineteenth century, to a fully developed, African American minority, suburban community by the late-twentieth century.[4] The existing African American communities in Arlington County remain as the County's oldest continuously occupied settlements. The residences, churches, cemeteries, businesses, communal halls, infrastructure, and town-planning models associated with these areas form the backbone of the County's African American communities even as the County continues to undergo rapid demographic and physical changes at the beginning of the 21st century.

Evolution of Arlington County

As settlement radiated from Jamestown after 1607, the Virginia's Colony's growing population necessitated the establishment of counties. By 1645, Northumberland County was created and included the future county of Arlington. Northumberland extended from the mouth of the Rappahannock River to the headwaters of the Potomac, an area also known as the Northern Neck.[5] Within five years, Westmoreland County was formed by an act that described a Native American village within its current bounds, "from Machoactoke river where Mr. Cole lives: And so upwards to the falls of the great river the Pawtomake above the Necostins Towne."[6] By 1660, Stafford County was created from Westmoreland County without formal legislation. The first court was held on May 27, 1664, and a delegate was sent to the General Assembly in 1666.[7]

Stafford County was not reorganized until 1730 at which time there was ongoing intensive land speculation in the region and several plantations in operation, prompting the creation of Prince William County. Land acquisition occurred rapidly within the decade, and in 1742, Fairfax County was formed. It included the present-day counties of Arlington, Fairfax, and Loudoun until 1757 when Loudoun County was created west of Difficult Run. It also included the City of Alexandria, which was first chartered as a town in 1749.

Alexandria County of the District of Columbia was formally created from Fairfax County on February 27, 1801, by Act of U.S. Congress after Virginia and Maryland ceded land for the permanent seat of the federal government. The 1801 act stated that the laws of the state of Virginia would continue to be enforced in Alexandria County of the District of Columbia and the laws of the state of Maryland would apply to

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[2] United States Census, 1910-1920.
[3] United States Census, 1930-1940.
[4] Provine, *Free Negro Registers*, x.; United States Census, 1870-1960.
[5] C. B. Rose, *Arlington County, Virginia: A History* (Arlington, Va.: Arlington Historical Society, 1976), 5.
[6] William Waller Hening, ed. *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619. [1619-1660]*, vol. 1 (New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1823), 381.
[7] Rose, *Arlington County*, 7.

Washington County while establishing a District of Columbia Circuit Court.[89] The boundary was based on a 1791 survey ordered by then Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson and executed by Andrew Ellicott who was briefly assisted by Benjamin Banneker, a free black amateur astronomer from Maryland.[10] In March 1847, Alexandria County of the District of Columbia was retroceded to Virginia after county residents voted in an 1846 referendum.

Formerly a town, the City of Alexandria was chartered in 1852 and officially split from the county in 1870 because of the new Constitution of Virginia of that year. In 1920, officials changed the county name to Arlington to avoid confusion with the town.[11] After World War II, Northern Virginia became an identifiable geographic and political bloc as its population and suburbanization increased exponentially. "At first, this included only the City of Alexandria and Arlington and Fairfax Counties, but grew to include Prince William, Loudoun, Stafford, and Fauquier Counties."[12]

Throughout the context, Arlington County and the surrounding communities, such as the City of Alexandria and the District of Columbia, will be discussed in terms of their historic name during each period unless data has been extracted to cover only present-day Arlington County within that historical period.

Evolution of Racial Labels

Today's African American population possesses a complex lineage rooted in African, Native American, and European history. In the early years of the Virginia Colony, both free and enslaved African and Native American populations began to intermingle and eventually intermarry. African men outnumbered African women 3 to 1, while the number of Native Americans dwindled due to disease and prolonged wars, leaving a disproportionate number of Native American women.[13] Additionally, a few Europeans married Native Americans, and other Europeans engaged in secret consensual and non-consensual relationships with Native Americans and Africans. In the first decades of contact, a series of laws banned Europeans from engaging in such relationships and defined how mixed lineage affected one's freedom. To that end, percentages of ethnicity were more closely monitored and a complex system of labelling applied. A mulatto was half-African and half-European, a quadroon was one-quarter African, and an octoroon was an eighth. A mustee was defined as a child of a white person and a quadroon but was also sometimes applied to someone who was part African and part Native American. In later years, any European descendent with one African ancestor was called mulatto, known as the one-drop rule. At first, colored was a term used exclusively to refer to mulattos but was later applied to anyone regardless of the percentage of African ancestry. Native Americans who lived on reservations were

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[8] United States, *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America from the Organization of the Government in 1789, to March 3, 1845. Arranged in Chronological Order. With References to the Matter of Each Act and to the Subsequent Acts on the Same Subject, and Copious Notes of the Decisions of the Courts of the United States Construing Those Acts, and Upon the Subjects of the Laws ... Together with the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1856).

[9] William Waller Hening, ed. *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619. [1660-1682]*, vol. 2 (New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1823), 103-08.

[10] Silvio A. Bedini, *Benjamin Banneker and the Survey of the District of Columbia, 1791* (Washington: Columbia Historical Society, 1971).

[11] Beth Mitchell, *Beginning at a White Oak: Patents and Northern Neck Grants of Fairfax County, Virginia* (Fairfax: County of Fairfax, Virginia, 1977), 1.

[12] John Hammond Moore, "Creating Northern Virginia," *Northern Virginia Heritage* (1985).

[13] J. Leitch Wright, *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South* (New York, NY: Free Press, 1985), 258.

called Indian, and those who left were called mulatto, colored, negro, or black.[14] Negro is a term that was applied throughout history before African American became favored in the late twentieth century or People of Color in more recent years. Within the context, historical labels are quoted, and black and African American are used interchangeably.

Agrarian Development from Settlement to Emancipation (1608-1860)

Early Enslavement and the Taking of Native American Lands

After the settlement of Jamestown in 1607, English colonists began to take land within the lower peninsula of Virginia and capture Native Americans within the Powhatan Confederacy, a network of up to 40 tribes, to work in their households and on their plantations.[15] By 1619, the first Africans arrived in North America as indentured servants in a transaction between the Dutch and English colonists in Jamestown. Within the decade, the first enslaved African people were forced to immigrate to New York; however, the institution of African enslavement was not fully realized for nearly a century.[16] As such, colonists continued to steal Native Americans, particularly women and children who were preferred and more readily available than men whose numbers were declining due to war.[17] They also traded guns and other goods for enslaved laborers in a pre-existing indigenous market in the way that sub-Saharan Africans traded their own neighbors.[18]

In March 1657/8, the Virginia House of Burgesses passed the first act that clearly classified enslaved African and Native Americans as property by imposing a poll tax on their owners.[19] The act was minimally updated multiple times in the seventeenth century and comprehensively updated in 1705[20] and 1732.[21] Ultimately, the law required the inclusion of enslaved males and females and servants over the age of 16 on a list of tithables, which was to be submitted to the local court each June. White men were also included, but women were excluded. Despite the risk of penalty, many evaded the poll tax by concealing the number of persons on their land or falsifying age, thus the actual population throughout the period of slavery may have been much greater than the reported numbers.[22]

By the time Captain John Smith explored the Potomac River in 1608, the Nameroughquena had established a stable village near present-day Roosevelt Island. They were associated with the Necostin in Maryland; the Tauxenent near the Occoquan; the Namassingakent, situated on the north bank of Dogue Run; and the Assaomeck, on the south side of Hunting Creek. They grew corn, beans, squash, and tobacco; gathered nuts, berries, roots, and shellfish; and hunted and fished, while living in longhouses of bent poles covered with bark or reed mats. Generally, early encounters with tribes on the Potomac were friendly and lead to trade deals;

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[14] Georgia Mills Jessup, "We're Still Here: Pamunkeys of Fairfax County," *Historical Society of Fairfax County Yearbook* 23 (1991-1992).
[15] Kristalyn Shefveland, "Indian Enslavement in Virginia," in *Encyclopedia Virginia* (Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 2016).
[16] Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *Finding Your Roots: The Official Companion to the Pbs Series* (University of North Carolina Press, 2015).
[17] James D. Rice, *Nature & History in the Potomac Country: From Hunter-Gatherers to the Age of Jefferson* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).
[18] Shefveland, "Indian Enslavement in Virginia."
[19] Hening, *Volume 1*, 454-55.
[20] *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619. [1684-1710]*, vol. 3 (Philadelphia: Thomas Desilver, 1823), 258-61.
[21] *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619. [1711-1736]*, vol. 4 (Richmond: Franklin Press, 1820), 133.
[22] Robin L. Einhorn, *American Taxation, American Slavery* (Chicago, Ill.; Bristol: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 39.

however, the conflict in the lower and middle peninsulas of Virginia quickly reached the region. English settlement extended upriver in both Virginia and Maryland, forcing native inhabitants to migrate into the northern peninsula between the Potomac and Rappahannock. There, they collided with other tribes within the Powhatan Confederacy as well as from the north such as the Susquehanna.[23] By the 1650s, European land speculators followed the migration of Native Americans into the Northern Neck and began purchasing patents in present-day Arlington. On September 6, 1654, Margaret Brent, the colonies' first female attorney and an associate of Lord Baltimore in Maryland, acquired the first 700 acres immediately to the south in present-day City of Alexandria.[24] In what is now Arlington County, many wealthy men in the Virginia Colony also acquired patents on the freshes of the Potomac in 1657 and 1658 but did not seat the land within the required timeframe and subsequently lost their right to develop.[25]

The first references to Native American enslavement in Northern Neck public records occurred during this migration and period of increased hostility. In 1650, "two Northumberland County men 'took from the King of Patuxin [in Maryland] two Indian women and ninety-three [sic] deer skins and three beaver skins.'"[26] The Dogue or Doegs are thought to have emerged from surviving members of dwindling tribes banding together around the time that Westmoreland County was formed from Northumberland. First recorded in the 1650s, Doeg "seemed to refer to a series of communities [on both sides of the Potomac and Rappahannock] that represented an alternative to life on the reservations that were then being created."[27] Described as a shadowy group, they were particularly hostile to English settlement and apt to engage in conflict rather than negotiate. In retribution, royal Governor Sir William Berkeley ordered the "utter destruction" of "the whole nation of Doegs and Potomacks" and authorized the taking of their goods and enslavement of the women and children on July 10, 1666.[28] By 1669, only 11 of the 28 tribes recorded in 1608 survived.[29] Thus, European settlement began in the upper reaches of what was by then Stafford County.

Development of Land in Stafford County (1660-1730)

Present-day Arlington initially consisted of approximately 51 seated tracts of land, some of which extended far into what is now Fairfax County and the City of Alexandria. The first viable land patent within the county's present-day boundaries illustrates market forces in the taking of Native American land for profit in the slave and tobacco economy. On October 20, 1669, three years after he waged war on the region's Native Americans, Governor Berkley granted "6000 acres upon the freshes of Potomack River" to a Welsh sea captain, Robert "Housing" (alternately spelled Howson and Howsing); in return, Howson transported 120 persons and ten "Negroes" into the Virginia Colony.[30] Part of this patent conflicted with Margaret Brent's 700 acres, while the remaining 5,300 acres covered present-day Crystal City, Washington National Airport, the Pentagon, and Arlington National Cemetery. On November 13, 1669, a little over a month after Howson obtained his 6,000 acres, he sold it for 6,000 pounds of tobacco to John Alexander (1603-1677), a son of Scottish nobility.[31] John Alexander had significant land and slave holdings and did not move there but seated it with a tenant. This is

[23] Rose, *Arlington County*, 13.
[24] Virginia Land Office Patent 3, 275.
[25] Rose, *Arlington County*, 23-24.
[26] Rice, *Nature & History in the Potomac Country*, 135-36.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Virginia, "Decisions of the General Court," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 5, no. 2 (1897): 114-15.
[29] Einhorn, *American Taxation, American Slavery*, 31.
[30] Virginia Land Office Patent 6, 262.
[31] Mitchell, *Beginning at a White Oak*, 35.

evident in language within his unsigned will, dated October 25, 1677, in which he left Elizabeth Holmes "200 acres where John Coggins lives."[32]

The remainder of successfully established land grants were not developed for over 30 years. Coggin only stayed until the 1780s, and development stalled in the frontier region throughout Virginia due to continued clashes with the Doeg and other tribes. In response to Governor Berkeley's perceived lack of initiative and favoritism among the elite, English newcomer Nathaniel Bacon of Surry led the first colonial rebellion in 1676 against the governor and began to kill Native American men, women, and children.[33] Though no permanent Native American villages survived in present-day Arlington by 1679,[34] "strange Indians" continued to threaten settlers for two more decades.[35] In 1692, Captain Thomas Owsley and ten men were charged with scouting the river around the present-day county to deal with the continued threat.[36] After his excursion in 1696 or 1697, Owsley acquired the first Northern Neck Grant (as opposed to the earlier Virginia Land Office patents) in the present-day county bounds.[37]

From 1698 until the American Revolution, maritime traffic was divided into multiple districts, including Lower and Upper or North Potomac to monitor imports of "liquor and servants and slaves" from Africa and the West Indies as well as a few Indians captured during war in the Carolinas. At this early date, Potomac naval officer Rice Hooe's activity on the upper part only related to Maryland.[38] By 1700, the percentage of free and enslaved Native Americans in the colony significantly declined as the forced immigration of Africans rapidly increased and native people resigned to moving west or assimilated with Africans. The prolonged conflict on the frontier and the banding together of indentured servants and enslaved people, both Native and African, prompted the 1705 passage of a comprehensive slave code, which included poll tax reform, protected European planters, redefined all enslaved Africans and Native Americans as real estate, and prevented "Negro, mulatto, or Indian" persons from holding civil, military, or ecclesiastical office.[39]

During this time, wealthy first- and second-generation European colonists found renewed interest in land speculation in present-day Arlington. Evident in the language in early land records of Stafford and Prince William Counties, they used tobacco as a stable medium of exchange with promissory notes issued for the quantity and quality of tobacco received. Robert and Philip Alexander inherited most of their father's 6,000 acres, which turned out to be closer to 8,000 acres after official survey.[40] They sold off parcels beginning in 1687 and leased land as early as 1698.[41] Between 1696 and 1796, thirty-eight other men and three sisters acquired 50 parcels through the Northern Neck Proprietary. Seven of these were purchased twice due to speculators such as Capt. Owsley failing to develop their properties as required. Tracts varied in size from 1,246

[32] Ibid., 60.
[33] Rose, *Arlington County*, 28.
[34] Hening, *Volume 2*, 438.
[35] Stafford County Court Order Book, March 9, 1691/92.
[36] Ibid., June 8, 1692.
[37] Northern Neck Land Grant 2, 267.
[38] Walter Edward Minchinton, *Virginia Slave-Trade Statistics, 1698-1775* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1984), ix-xiii.
[39] Hening, *Volume 3*, 447.
[40] Stafford County Will Book Z, 200.
[41] Mitchell, *Beginning at a White Oak*, 60-61.; Fairfax County, Virginia Deed Index.

to 12 acres and were primarily undeveloped or operated as small farms and plantations for nearly 150 years before a town within the present-day county was established.[42]

Of the eight parcels granted before 1720, three were reclaimed and three were sold multiple times within a decade. Early inhabitants included Doctor Michael Dunghill who was a tenant on 1,215 acres acquired by Evan Thomas and John Todd in 1719.[43] Appointed resident agent for the Northern Neck Proprietary in 1713, Thomas Lee purchased a 232-acre tract. An ancestor of Robert E. Lee, he lived in Westmoreland County with a reported 61 enslaved laborers.[44] Given trends of seating land with a tenant farmer or overseer and enslaved population, it is possible that he sent some of his labor to this land.

The height of land speculation and settlement as related to Northern Neck grants occurred in the 1720s when 11 men patented 15 out of the 50 parcels comprising the present-day county; only three of these, patented by George Mason III, William Gunnell, and Simon Pearson, were reclaimed and re-granted by the proprietary in later decades.[45] Six out of 11 of these men owned enslaved laborers. Among the three absentee landowners who owned them, Charles Broadwater resided near present-day Vienna and later leased land to William Harbin.[46] William Gunnell and Francis Awbry both used enslaved labor but also lived in present-day Fairfax County.[47]

Among the three resident slave owners, James Robertson acquired two patents in 1724, one in 1729, and three more in 1730, for a total of 3,280 acres of land between Four Mile Run and Pimmit Run.[48] Despite considerable holdings, he is estimated to have had only five enslaved laborers. He also leased land to three tenants, William Boylstone, who had one enslaved person, and James Bowmaker and Matthew Earp.[49] John Trammel acquired 248 acres in present-day Arlington County in 1729 and was involved in establishing Falls Church.[50] By 1749, he had four free and at least six enslaved persons in his household.[51] Between 1729 and 1731, Captain Simon Pearson, a stepson of Broadwater, acquired four patents in the present-day county in addition to three outside of it. These included two patents he purchased by himself and one in partnership with James Going, a former tenant of Robert Alexander, and one with Gabriel Adams.[52] He also bought two of James Robertson's grants

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[42] Discussion of slave owners and enslaved inhabitants throughout this section is based on the following documents and primary sources cited within them: Fairfax County Office of Communications Large Area Mapping, "Patents and Northern Neck Grants of Fairfax County, Virginia," ([Fairfax]: Large Area Mapping : Maps and Publications Sales, 1990); Beth Mitchell and Donald Sweig, "An Interpretive Historical Map of Fairfax County, Virginia in 1760: Showing Landowners, Tenants, Slave Owners, Churches, Roads, Ordinaries, Ferries, Mills, Tobacco Inspection Warehouses, and the Towns of Alexandria and Colchester," ([Fairfax, Va.]: Fairfax County Office of Comprehensive Planning, 1987); Mitchell, *Beginning at a White Oak*; Donald A. Wise, "Some Eighteenth Century Profiles, Part 1," *Arlington Historical Magazine* 6, no. 1 (1977); "Some Eighteenth Century Profiles, Part 2," *Arlington Historical Magazine* 6, no. 2 (1978).

[43] Rose, *Arlington County,* 29; Northern Neck Land Grant 5, 212 (contains present-day Arlington View)

[44] Northern Neck Land Grant 5, 240; Charles Green, "Fairfax County List of Tithables: List of All Tithable Men in Truro Parish Prepared by the Minister, Dr. Charles Green," (Virginia1749).

[45] Mapping, "Map of Patents and Northern Neck Grants "; Mitchell, *Beginning at a White Oak*.

[46] Mitchell and Sweig, "An Interpretive Historical Map of Fairfax County."

[47] Wise, "Profiles, Part 1," 6, 11.

[48] Northern Neck Land Grant A, 116; A, 120; B, 191; C, 117; C, 135; I, 155.

[49] Wise, "Profiles, Part 2," 19; Mitchell, *Beginning at a White Oak*; Mapping, "Map of Patents and Northern Neck Grants ".

[50] Northern Neck Land Grant C, 10.

[51] Green, "Fairfax County List of Tithables."

[52] Northern Neck Land Grant C, 27; C, 28; C, 118; D, 40.

and inherited one from his father.[53] He owned an unspecified number of enslaved laborers and leased land at one point to Henry Collum, John Hurst, and John Williams, none of whom had slaves.[54]

Development of a Slave-Based Economy in Prince William County (1730-1742)

The influx of free and enslaved people in the 1720s prompted the creation of Prince William County in 1730. Enslaved people, indentured servants, and yeoman farmers built the roads, housing, and outbuildings, cleared land, and labored in tobacco fields. The same year the county formed, the Tobacco Inspection Act was passed by the Virginia Assembly, appointing Inspectors for public tobacco warehouses to "prevent frauds in his Majesties Customs;" further, in May 1732, the House of Burgesses noted public warehouses were established at Quantico and the upper side of Great Hunting Creek, which was crucial in the continued development of the rural part of the county.[55] These shipping centers led to the development of "rolling roads" used for the hogsheads of tobacco, which were large barrels rolled from the plantations to the ports. Several present-day roads in Arlington County, including Wilson Boulevard, follow the routes of these pre-Revolutionary war roads.[56]

Population estimates indicate that in 1733, there were a total of 612 blacks and 1,498 whites living in Truro Parish (roughly present-day Fairfax and Arlington Counties) within Prince William County.[57] The Northern Neck Proprietary issued 11 grants to nine men in the 1730s, second only to the previous decade. Of the nine men, five owned enslaved laborers. Of the five, three lived within present-day Arlington. Absentee landowner, Robert Carter, Jr. purchased 31,861 acres of Northern Neck grants including a 200-acre patent in the present-day county in 1731.[58] He was the son of Robert "King" Carter who once served as the Northern Neck Proprietor and enslaved upward of 500 persons in the state. A year after Carter, Jr.'s purchase, he died at his home in Westmoreland County and left his land to his son, Robert "Councillor" Carter III. Despite considerable holdings, Councillor Carter only reported owning ten enslaved persons in Fairfax County on Green's 1749 list of tithables. He would go on to experience a religious conversion from Anglican to Baptist and free over 500 persons inherited from his grandfather.[59]

Absentee landowner, Col. John Colville purchased a 1,246-acre grant in 1739 and another 75-acre one in 1744, eventually amassing almost 10,000 acres including land beyond the present-day county.[60] Colville held many prominent local positions in the evolution of the county and the Town of Alexandria. He acquired a ship and settled south of the shipping port but potentially seated the land on Lubbers Run of Four Mile Fork with indentured servants or enslaved persons. He owned at least 29 enslaved persons and is known to have brought Catherine Foster and her mother Mary to America as indentured servants on his ship.[61]

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[53] Wise, "Profiles, Part 2," 18.
[54] Mitchell and Sweig, "An Interpretive Historical Map of Fairfax County."
[55] Hening, *Volume 4*, 268.
[56] Elizabeth Clavit, Francine Bromberg, and Barbara B. Ballentine, "African American Historic Resources of Alexandria, Virginia, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation," (Alexandria, Va.: Office of Historic Alexandria, 1994, 2001).
[57] Nan Netherton, Donald Sweig, Janice Artemel, Patricia Hickin, Patrick Reed, *Fairfax County, Virginia: A History*, Anniversary Commemorative Edition ed. (Fairfax: Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, 1992), 19.
[58] Northern Neck Land Grants D, 67; Wise, "Profiles, Part 1," 23.
[59] John R. Barden and The Dictionary of Virginia Biography, "Robert Carter (1728-1804)," in *Encyclopedia Virginia* (Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 2010).
[60] Northern Neck Land Grants E, 131; F, 323; Wise, "Profiles, Part 1," 24.
[61] Green, "Fairfax County List of Tithables."

As noted, resident slave holders James Robertson and Simon Pearson acquired land within this decade. A son of Francis Awbrey, local resident John Awbrey also acquired multiple properties, including a patent that conflicted with the Howson grant in 1739.[62] Nonetheless, he settled there as noted on Daniel Jennings survey map of the Howson-Alexander tract, which shows Capt. Awbrey's house and the house of Mary Awbrey, John's widow. Though his father used enslaved labor and he may have as well, his widow claimed none in 1749.[63]

In addition to the establishment of new land patents in the 1730s, several grants that had traded hands multiple times were settled, and absentee landowners such as Evan Thomas and John Todd on Four Mile Run moved to their land. Thomas left his property to his daughters, who operated plantations with enslaved labor and their husbands, Robert King and Thomas Whitford.[64] Acting as overseer for the Alexanders, Benjamin Sebastian recorded a few tenants in 1731. They paid 524 pounds of tobacco in rent per 100 acres. Judith Ballenger, James Going, Sarah Young, and Sarah Amos rented below Four Mile Run. Edward Chubb, Richard Middleton, William Boylstone, John Straughan, Adam Straughan, Edward Earpe, and Richard Wheeler rented above the run. Robert Alexander earned 6,812 pounds of tobacco a year from these rents.[65]

In 1735, Robert Alexander died and left property south of Four Mile Run to his son John and land to the north to his son Gerard. Gerard is significant as the first of the Alexander family to settle on land within the present-day county and to establish a plantation with one of the larger known enslaved labor forces of resident landowners. By 1748, he owned up to 24 enslaved laborers if not more who likely built his house and outbuildings and certainly worked on the land. The NRHP-eligible ruins of the house (000-0041; 44AR0018), later named Abingdon by the Custis family, are now located at Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport. His sons Philip, Jr. and John, Jr. had eight and six enslaved persons if not more.[66]

Growth and Diversification in Fairfax County (1742-1801)

Fueled by the inspection station, new roads, and growing international trade, the population of Prince William County steadily climbed in the 1730s and 1740s. Thus, Fairfax County was formed in 1742 influenced by the boundaries of the Anglican Church boundary for Truro Parish, which was created in 1732. The area encompassed present-day Arlington, Fairfax, and Loudoun counties, and the independent cities of Alexandria, Fairfax, and Falls Church. The population of the new county is estimated to have included 1,197 blacks and 2,982 whites.[67] The Town of Alexandria was chartered in 1749 around the inspection station on land reluctantly donated by the Alexanders as well as by the West family. Five years later, it became the county seat.[68] Tobacco continued to serve as the primary staple crop and form of payment while international trade grew.

In the 1740s, the Northern Neck Proprietary issued 11 grants to six men. Half of the men, including John Colville as previously discussed, used enslaved laborers, and two of them lived on these patents. The first official Fairfax County surveyor, Daniel Jennings acquired three patents in the 1740s; one at over 1,000 acres

[62] Northern Neck Land Grant E, 81.
[63] Green, "Fairfax County List of Tithables."
[64] Rose, *Arlington County*, 29.
[65] Mitchell, *Beginning at a White Oak*, 61-62.
[66] Green, "Fairfax County List of Tithables."; Rose, *Arlington County*, 32; Mitchell and Sweig, "An Interpretive Historical Map of Fairfax County."
[67] Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 29.
[68] Rose, *Arlington County*.

consisted of two reclaimed parcels combined.[69] Jennings is significant as a resident landowner with one of the larger enslaved labor forces within the county. In contrast, many of his contemporaries had few if any enslaved persons on their farms or did not reside in the county with their labor. In his will dated July 2, 1754 and proved November 20, he left 1,053 acres and eight negroes to his son, Daniel; 325 acres and nine negroes to his son James; and land leased from Charles Broadwater plus three negroes to his daughter Martha Ashbury. [70]

In 1742, Capt. George Harrison purchased 208 acres from the Northern Neck Proprietary to add to over 800 acres owned outside of the present-day county.[71] He married Martha West of the West family who owned land around the tobacco inspection station and built a house on the property near Falls Church.[72] His inventory included "eight negroes, 19 hogs, 7 steers, 9 cows and calves, and 3 horses," which he left to his wife, who in turn left their property to nephew, John West, Jr.[73]

While the Virginia elite owned much of the county, yeoman steadily established smaller owner occupied farms operated by family and paid labor. For example, in 1744, indentured servant James Simmons was released from the Alexanders and purchased 100 acres.[74] Though they were becoming the majority, yeomen farmers were not represented in civic or ecclesiastical offices within the colonial government. Unlike increasingly sophisticated northern colonies, Virginia lacked a serious legislative process, continued to use a primitive tax system, and appointed rather than elected church and government officials other than the House of Burgesses. The small percentage of men who owned the bulk of enslaved labor dominated the government. The whole system was designed to benefit the fiefdoms of the upper class, which frustrated the middle-class farmers and prevented any movement on the issue of slavery. The most complex policy system within the colony was related to tobacco inspection and even that did not compare to the flour inspection process in Pennsylvania.[75]

A surviving list of tithables in Fairfax County illustrates the growing diversity and inequality in 1748/49. The Rev. Charles Green documented 1,122 white and 913 "negro" tithables, which still excluded white women and all youth under age 16.[76] The actual estimated population for 1748 was 1,500 blacks and 3,667 whites.[77] Green enumerated tithables by the new Parish of Cameron founded in 1749 (roughly present-day Loudoun); Upper Parish, which became Fairfax Parish in 1765 (Arlington, north part of Fairfax, and the Cities of Alexandria and Fairfax); and Lower Parish, known as Truro Parish after 1765 (the south part of Fairfax County). Cameron had a slightly lower population. Notably, only 26 percent of 631 tithable households owned enslaved people, while about 29 percent of the population was black. Only 18 of the 164 households with slaves had 10 or more, while 146 had around one or two.[78] Of the 18 who owned a significant number of laborers, few resided in the present-day county but may have seated their properties with tenant or overseers and the enslaved as noted earlier.

Rev. Green also took sporadic notes on religious affiliation and church attendance as the Anglican church was embedded in government. He wrote, "the Country born Negros are chiefly Baptized." He enumerated 66

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[69] Northern Neck Land Grants E, 208; F, 214; F, 270.
[70] Fairfax County Will Book 1, 72.
[71] Northern Neck Land Grant E, 493; Wise, "Profiles, Part 2," 7.
[72] Northern Neck Land Grant E, 474.
[73] Wise, "Profiles, Part 2," 7.
[74] Green, "Fairfax County List of Tithables."; Rose, *Arlington County*, 34.
[75] Einhorn, *American Taxation, American Slavery*, 30-31.
[76] Green, "Fairfax County List of Tithables."
[77] Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 29.
[78] Rose, *Arlington County*, 35.

Quakers, none of whom owned enslaved laborers, and wrote, "The Quakers all live in Cameron or the upper Parish & scarcely one man of them come to Church in my time except Elisha Hall."[79] A target of religious percussion, the majority of this faith community, who lived in present-day Arlington, Alexandria, and Loudoun, opposed and later vocally protested the institution of slavery.[80] Green also noted 52 Papists, citing those who came to the Anglican Church frequently. As part of the Catholic faith in Virginia, Papists who did not attend the Anglican Church and take an oath to the royal government became subject to discriminatory laws not unlike some of those applied to enslaved persons.[81]

In the 1750s, the Northern Neck Proprietary only released one patent in the present-day county – 158 acres to Col. Colville in 1752.[82] Yet, the county continued to grow despite the impending French and Indian War (1754–1765) as older patents were subdivided and leased. By 1756, the population estimate was 2,214 blacks and 4,452 whites, prompting the creation of Loudoun County based on Cameron Parish in 1757.[83] Among advertisements in the *Maryland Gazette* within this decade, Hugh West who owned the land around the inspection station advertised for a runaway named Dick on September 20, 1753, and George Washington advertised for one named Davy on August 9, 1759.

In consideration of a lack of manpower for the war effort, Virginia reluctantly passed legislation in 1754, allowing free negroes, mulattoes, and Indians to enlist as servants, which were known as batman; they were not however allowed to bear arms.[84] "Arming Negroes, free or slave, and acquainting them with military organization and discipline created the danger of providing them the means for engaging in an insurrection which Virginia constantly feared."[85] At the onset of the war, British Gen. Edward Braddock came to the colony and determined a course of action with officials in the Town of Alexandria including George Washington in his first military role. Taking advantage of Virginia's new law, Braddock enlisted blacks as batman and led the Virginia militia from Fairfax County in a campaign against the French at Fort Duquesne in Pennsylvania. In the wake of significant losses towards the end of the expedition, Braddock further ordered batmen to take up firearms and become combatants, many of whom lost their lives.[86] In 1755, blacks were authorized to serve as drummers, trumpeters, and pioneers, but not as combatants despite their ultimate role in Braddock's campaign.[87] Desperately in need of white militia men in 1756, Col. Washington reassigned whites from a growing array of non-combatant roles, such as carpenters and axemen and ordered blacks to serve in these capacities. Many were responsible for the construction of frontier forts.[88]

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[79] Green, "Fairfax County List of Tithables."
[80] Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896).
[81] Larry G. Bowman, "Virginia's Use of Blacks in the French and Indian War," *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 53, no. 1 (1970): 62; William Waller Hening, ed. *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619. [1756-1763]*, vol. 7 (Richmond: Franklin Press, 1820), 15.
[82] Northern Neck Land Grant F, 354.
[83] Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 33.
[84] William Waller Hening, ed. *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619. [1748-1755]*, vol. 6 (Richmond: Franklin Press, 1819), 421.
[85] Bowman, "Virginia's Use of Blacks in the French and Indian War," 58.
[86] Winthrop Sargent, ed. *A History of an Expedition against Fort Duquesne, in 1755; under Major-General Edward Braddock* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippinctt & Co., 1856), 350.
[87] Hening, *Volume 7*, 531-33.
[88] Bowman, "Virginia's Use of Blacks in the French and Indian War," 58-63.

During the war in 1760, the population estimate only dipped because of the loss of Loudoun County's land area. Approximately 1,448 blacks and 3,539 whites lived in Fairfax County.[89] That year, present-day Arlington County consisted of 30 claimed parcels where 50 percent of the 10 absentee landowners and 75 percent of the 20 resident landowners had slaves. Absentee landowners with slaves included Robert Carter, George and James Mercer, John Colville's heirs, and Nathaniel Chapman, who leased land to John Hunter, an owner of 17 enslaved laborers. Resident slave owners included Charles Broadwater, Daniel Jennings, Drummond Wheeler, Gerard Alexander, Henry Darne, James Robertson, John Carlyle, John West, Jr., Sampson Trammel, Simon Pearson, Thomas Pearson, and William Hardin. Jennings' tenant, Elizabeth Triplett, had two enslaved laborers, while Robertson's tenant, William Boylstone had one. Other tenants established farms without enslaved labor.[90] In the 1760s, a number of enslaved laborers attempted escape from Fairfax County planters. William Triplett advertised a reward in the *Maryland Gazette* on May 30, 1765, "on the first Day of November last, a likely Country born Negro Man named Harry, about 30 Years of Age, 5 Feet 8 or 9 Inches high, slow of Speech, his Back much furrow 'd by Whipping, very yellow Teeth for a Negro."[91]

After the war ended in 1765, several established families seeking untapped farm land migrated into the newly established Loudoun County. They also went north and west into present-day Fairfax County. The exhaustion of tobacco fields and increased British taxation on the short supply of tobacco contributed to the development of a diversified agricultural base, whereby, county planters began to shift from the cultivation of tobacco to wheat and opened flourmills along its tributaries. Coincidentally, demand for American wheat increased in England as it entered the Industrial Age. Production of wheat in Fairfax County was most often inspected and milled in the Town of Alexandria, which by the American Revolution, would become the largest port on the Potomac River.[92] With this shift, some enslaved laborers were no longer needed on plantations in the rural part of the county and were manumitted or hired out to business owners and manufacturers in the rapidly growing port town.[93]

Only two men, both well established, acquired five Northern Neck patents in the 1760s, the decade in which colonists began to move towards a revolution. Longtime resident speculator and slave owner James Robertson acquired 419 acres in 1766.[94] In September, 1767, George Mason IV who lived at his newly constructed Gunston Hall in present-day Fairfax County purchased four patents, totaling nearly 1,700 acres.[95] He owned a quantity of enslaved laborers second only to George Washington and likely forced them to work this land. In contrast to these vast estates, the number of yeoman farms continued to increase. Benjamin Sebastian, who once collected rents and lived on the Alexanders' land, illustrates the upward mobility of white inhabitants beyond the landed elite. Sebastian eventually became an attorney and established a home place and a quarter, which was a separate farm run by a slave overseer. His household included both indentured servants and enslaved laborers.[96]

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[89] Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 33.
[90] Mitchell and Sweig, "An Interpretive Historical Map of Fairfax County."
[91] Tom Costa, "Advertisements Database," The University of Virginia's College at Wise, http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/gos/explore.html.
[92] Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 126-27.
[93] Belinda Bloomburg, "Free Black Adaptive Responses to the Antebellum Urban Environment: Neighborhood Formation and Socioeconomic Stratification in Alexandria, Virginia 1790-1850" (American University, 1988), 57-62.
[94] Northern Neck Land Grant I, 155.
[95] Northern Neck Land Grant O, 87-90.
[96] Rose, *Arlington County*, 36.

The estimated population in 1770 reached 2,017 blacks and 4,932 whites.[97] During the 1770s, five men, three of whom owned enslaved labor, acquired four of the remaining Northern Neck patents before and after the start of the Revolutionary War. Prominent maritime business partners and slaveholders in the Town of Alexandria, John Carlyle and John Dalton purchased 95 acres in 1772.[98] A Scottish immigrant, Carlyle was on the Fairfax County rent rolls for over 7,000 acres in 1764, 4,000 in 1768, and 5,236 in 1774.[99] In the midst of war, another Scottish immigrant, John Graham, acquired a 94-acre patent between the Todd and Thomas and Struttfield patents north of Four Mile Run and adjacent to Lower Long Branch.[100] Through his second marriage, Graham elevated his status from merchant to gentlemen and succeeded his father-in-law as clerk of Fairfax County until 1777 at which time the title passed to his son.[101] Graham claimed ten enslaved laborers in 1749 around eight years after his arrival in the colony.[102]

On the eve of the American Revolution, forced migration from Africa and the West Indies continued, while local and interstate trade amongst established plantations also supplied the labor force. An ad ran in the *Virginia Gazette* on August 30, 1770, describing an auctioning off of people at a local plantation, which primarily fell in present-day Fairfax but began in Arlington at the mouth of Pimmit Run.

> To be SOLD, for ready money, to the highest bidder, on Monday the seventeenth of September, at Alexandria, being Fairfax court day, SEVENTEEN valuable SLAVES, consisting of men, women, boys, and girls. Among the number are three valuable forgemen [sic], a sawer [sic], a Collier, a blacksmith, a carpenter, a miller, and a baker. There will be sold, at the same time and place, a tract of land lying on Pimmitt's run, near the falls of Potowmack, containing about 400 acres, settled with four tenements, two of which are well improved with buildings. There is a good deal of meadow ground on the run, and bending on the same for two miles, well watered [sic] and timbered. The above slaves and land are part of the estate of John Ballendine, and sold to satisfy a debt due to HECTOR ROSS. [103]

On May 27, 1773, the *Virginia Gazette* noted arrival of Africans, "To be SOLD at Alexandria, on Potowmack [sic] river on Wednesday the 9th of June, for cash, or good bills, A SMALL cargo of choice GOLD COAST SLAVES, well assorted, and healthy; also a fine fellow, who understands the sailmaking [sic] business. BALDWIN MATTHEWS BUCKNER."[104]

The local enslaved population at the time not only worked the wheat fields and tended the livestock but also continued to work on infrastructure projects ongoing in the county and across the river in Maryland. On January 7, 1775, the *Virginia Gazette* reported:

> AT a Meeting of the Trustees for opening the Navigation of Potowmack [sic] River, held at George Town the first Day of December, 1774, present, THOMAS JOHNSON, Jun. Attorney at

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[97] Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 33.
[98] Northern Neck Land Grant I, 181.
[99] Wise, "Profiles, Part 1," 20-21.
[100] Northern Neck Land Grant I, 314.
[101] Wise, "Profiles, Part 2," 4-5.
[102] Green, "Fairfax County List of Tithables."
[103] "Virginia Gazette Items Relating to Slaves in Alexandria and Fairfax County, 1768-1777," Friends of Freedmen's Cemetery, http://www.freedmenscemetery.org/resources/documents/1768vagazette.shtml.
[104] Ibid.

> Law, WILLIAM DEAKINS, ADAM STEUART, THOMAS JOHNS, and THOMAS RICHARDSON, of George Town, Merchants, WILLIAM ELLZEY, ROBERT ALEXANDER, and PHILIP ALEXANDER, of Virginia, who ordered and directed that the Subscriber should, on the Credit, and at the Risk of the above-named Trustees, hire 50 Slaves to labour in cutting the Canals round the several Falls of said River; And at another Meeting of Trustees, for the Purpose aforesaid, held at Alexandria the nineteenth Day of the same Month, present, GEORGE WASHINGTON, JOHN CARLYLE, JOHN DALTON, and WILLIAM RAMSAY, Gentlemen, together with many of the Trustees at the former Meeting, who recognized and approved of the Order for hiring 50 Slaves, and agreed to become equally liable. In Consequence of which Order of the Trustees, I hereby give Notice that I want to hire Negro Men for the ensuing Year, for the Purpose above-mentioned. Any Person inclining to hire the Whole, or any Part of them, may see the Proceedings of the said Trustees, subscribed by and with their respective Hands, in my Custody. JOHN BALLENDINE.[105]

African American Patriots and Loyalists during the American Revolution in Fairfax County (1775-1783)

On the heels of the French and Indian War (1754-1763), colonists were anxious about the resurgence of Native Americans and unprecedented royal taxation levied against the colonies to recoup the ruinous costs of the conflict which nearly doubled the national debt of the Crown by 1763. To avoid taxation, nonimportation associations formed in Philadelphia and Annapolis in late 1769 and in Fairfax County in 1770. Following the anti-tax riot known as the Boston Tea Party and closure of the port in 1773, Fairfax County plantation owners collected tobacco, flour, and wheat to relieve the people of Boston. In response to England's retaliatory Coercive Acts in 1774, local landowner George Mason wrote the Fairfax County Resolves, a "bold statement of fundamental constitutional rights," which would influence his own 1776 Declaration of Rights and Thomas Jefferson's 1778 Declaration of Independence. The Fairfax County Freeholders and Inhabitants, including Carlyle and Dalton among others who acquired patents in present-day Arlington, signed the document.[106] In September of 1774, Gen. George Washington represented Virginia at the meeting of the First Continental Congress, which placed a ban on international trade, including enslaved labor, in an effort to cripple England.[107] Though deeply critical of slavery, Mason, Jefferson, and Washington nonetheless retained and took advantage of enslaved labor while philosophizing and fighting for freedom.

On November 12, 1775, seven months into the Revolutionary War, Gen. Washington wrote the following orders regarding recruitment into the Continental Army:

> The officers are to be careful not to enlist any person suspected of being unfriendly to the liberties of America… The rights of mankind and the freedom of America will have numbers sufficient to support them, without resorting to such wretched assistance. Let those who wish to put shackles upon freemen fill their ranks and place their confidence in such miscreants. Neither

[105] Ibid.

[106] Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 96-97; William Waller Hening, ed. *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619. [1779-1781]*, vol. 10 (Richmond: George Cochran, 1822).

[107] Michael A. McDonnell, *The Politics of War Race, Class, and Conflict in Revolutionary Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

> Negroes, boys unable to bear arms, nor old men unfit to endure the fatigues of the campaign are to be enlisted.[108]

Within a month, he softened his stance. "As the General is informed, that Numbers of Free Negroes are desirous of inlisting [sic] he gives leave to the recruiting Officers, to entertain them, and promises to lay the matter before the Congress, who he doubts not will approve of it."[109] At that time, there were only around 1,000 free Negro men of military age in Virginia. Within this group, many were bound by apprenticeships until the age of 31 and thus not fully free. Estimates place 500 of Virginia's free negroes and a smaller number of enslaved laborers in the war effort.[110]

The royal governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, then made an Emancipation Proclamation promising freedom to enslaved men who escaped and served in the royal British army. Thousands of African Americans consequently joined the Loyalists despite risk of recapture and torture. The majority in Virginia and Maryland came from the peninsulas in the Tidewater region; however, a few came from the Blue Ridge Mountains, one came from George Washington's Mount Vernon, another from nephew Col. John Washington's Potomac plantation, and at least another from Prince George's County, Maryland across the Potomac. Several loyalists belonged to Alexanders in Virginia; however, a county was not specified in the ship rolls.[111]

Ultimately, both free and enslaved African Americans served either the British Army or one of Virginia's military units – the Continental Army, the Virginia State Line, the Virginia State Navy, and county militia among other independent units.[112] They entered the war either as a substitute for their master, through the draft, or as a volunteer and served as laborers, menial servants, or musicians; however, as combat increased in the state, the Virginia Convention allowed free African Americans to join the militia.[113] Most only achieved the rank of private but some became spies. Within the navy, which primarily drew from counties in the Tidewater region, a small number rose from ordinary to able seamen or served as "pilots, drummers, boatswain mates, and gunner's mates."[114] While other states organized segregated regiments, Virginia's military was integrated.

On July 4, 1776, the Second Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence and announced that the 13 American Colonies should be considered independent states.[115] In 1778, Virginia reaffirmed the ban on international imports, though, a number of goods including enslaved laborers were illegally shipped into the Town of Alexandria. The 1778 legislation also required the filing of Certificates of Importation at local courts within 10 days of a citizen and their enslaved persons moving to Virginia from other states.[116]The certificate

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[108] George Washington, "[Diary Entry: 1 March 1788]," National Archives and Records Administration & University of Virginia Press, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/01-05-02-0004-0003-0001.

[109] "General Orders, 30 December 1775," National Archives and Records Administration & University of Virginia Press, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-02-02-0575.

[110] L. P. Jackson, "Virginia Negro Soldiers and Seamen in the American Revolution," *The Journal of Negro History* 27, no. 3 (1942): 257.

[111] Graham Russell Hodges, *The Black Loyalist Directory: African Americans in Exile after the American Revolution* (New York: Garland Pub., 1996), 52, 205.

[112] Minor T. Weisiger, "Virginia Revolutionary War Records " *The Libary of Virginia Research Notes* 8 (2006).

[113] Virginia, *The Proceedings of the Convention of Delegates for the Counties and Corporations in the Colony of Virginia, Held at Richmond ... On the 20th of March, 1775* (Richmond [Va.]: Ritchie, Trueheart & Du-Val, printers, 1816), 36.

[114] Jackson, "Virginia Negro Soldiers and Seamen in the American Revolution," 248.

[115] Ibid.

[116] William Waller Hening, ed. *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619. [1775-1778]*, vol. 9 (Richmond: Franklin Press, 1821), 471; *Volume 10*, 307; *The Statutes at Large;*

included the owner's name, an oath, the state of origin, the enslaved person's name and age, and how they were acquired. Some certificates included a physical description and family names. In addition, owners could emancipate enslaved laborers by will or deed. Enslaved persons were then allowed to pursue freedom suits if they were imported illegally; descendant of a free female ancestor, typically a Native American; or claimed to be free by deed of emancipation or last will and testament. "The vast majority of these freedom suits are found in [Alexandria] County… Given that [the Town] of Alexandria [became] a leading center for the domestic slave trade, many slaves who moved [there] with their slave owners were probably fearful of being sold."[117]

By the end of 1781, Washington's Continental Army with the help of France had largely defeated the British army. In 1782, the British Parliament voted to retreat, and in 1783, the Treaty of Paris was drafted with language that forbade the British from fulfilling Lord Dunmore's promise of freedom to black soldiers. Rumor spread that all would be returned to their owners, but the British issued 3,000 certificates giving many formerly enslaved fighters freedom to sail from New York to one of several locations.[118] Daniel Payne, 22, an "ordinary fellow… Formerly slave of Gen. Washingtown [sic], Virginia," escaped Fairfax County in 1779 and sailed to Nova Scotia in 1783; James Barclett, 59, "formerly slave to Col. John Washington Potomack [sic] [a nephew of GW]," left him in 1778 and did the same.[119] While they fought against the British freeing enslaved Loyalists, the Virginia General Assembly passed an act to free enslaved persons who fought as Patriots in return for their service.[120]

During the war, there was an increase in advertisements for runaway slaves in Fairfax County, including several placed by George Mason. Located within the present-day county boundary, Eli Stone near Falls Church offered a 100-pound reward for a 20-year-old mulatto named William Foster in the *Baltimore Advertiser* on May 9, 1780. Samuel Earnest of Hanover County wrote in the *Virginia Gazette* on February 9,1782, "two likely young NEGRO FELLOWS, viz. GEORGE, very lusty, the other by the name of ANTHONY rather small, both badly clothed. They say they belong to Col. Daniel M'Carty of Fairfax county, and joined the British whilst passing through the country. I have wrote to the Gentleman but have never received an answer, which makes me think they do not belong to him."

Transitioning from Virginia to the District of Columbia (1783-1801)

After the war's end, any social strides African Americans made serving in the American Revolution were mostly lost.[121] Many American slaveholders in the first flush of freedom from Great Britain, and facing their own ambivalence toward enslavement, did not push for anti-slavery legislation but, instead, made more private arrangements such as manumission, where they freed their slaves for meritorious conduct and service. In 1782, a year before the war's end, the Virginia General Assembly passed an act that allowed masters to free their enslaved labor in last will and testaments or deeds of emancipation and manumission.[122] Manumission could

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Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619. [1785-1788], vol. 12 (Richmond: George Cochran, 1823), 182.

[117] Chris Smith, "Virginia Untold: Freedom Suits," Virginia Memory, Library of Virginia, http://www.virginiamemory.com/blogs/out_of_the_box/2016/01/06/virginia-untold-freedom-suits/.

[118] Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution* (London: Vintage Books, 2009).

[119] Hodges, *The Black Loyalist Directory*, 52, 205.

[120] William Waller Hening, ed. *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619. [1782-1784]*, vol. 11 (Richmond: George Cochran, 1823), 308-09.

[121] Steven D. Smith and James A. Zeidler, "A Historic Context for the African American Military Experience," (Champaign, Il.: U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, Construction Engineering Research Laboratories, 1998), 34.

[122] Ed Jordan and Greg Crawford, "Virginia Untold: Deeds of Emancipation and Manumission," Virginia Memory, Library of

involve financial transactions; for example, enslaved artisans who were allowed paid work would save their pay to manumit not only themselves, but to pay for the freedom of their families.[123]

Runaway advertisements continued to appear after the war, shedding light on severe brutality and the sorts of jobs enslaved laborers had. Many indicate an increase in intermixing of races as more African Americans were described as having lighter skin in later decades. Located in the present-day county boundary, Lewis Hipkin wrote in the *Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser* on September 30, 1784:

> EIGHT DOLLARS REWARD. RAN away about the 31st of may last, from the plantation of Col. Henry Lee, jun. near the Little Falls of Potomack [sic], a likely young Negro Man, named ELGIN, about 25 years of age, six feet and one inch high, has a bit out of one side of his nose, and is somewhat pitted with the small-pox: Had on and took with him such clothes as Negroes generally wear, likewise a broad ax, a foot adze, and a drawing-knife, and has been used to work at the carpenter's business.---I expect he is in the neighbourhood [sic] of the Red House, Prince-William County, as he has a wife at that place.---Whoever will secure said fellow in any gaol, or deliver him to me near the Little Falls, shall have the above Reward and all reasonable charges, paid by L. HIPKINS. Fairfax County, Sept. 16,1784.[124]

In the *Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser* on October 21, 1784, another local, Philip Alexander wrote of a runaway, "DICK, who usually drove my waggon [sic], and is pretty well known in Alexandria, where, I am informed, he is lurking about.---He is round-shouldered, and has one of his forefingers, (I do not recollect which) much injured by an apple-mill, by which mark he may easily be discovered; his back, if examined, will shew him to be a great villain.---Whoever contrives him to me, living near Alexandria, shall have FIVE DOLLARS Reward." [125]

In the early years of the republic, the founding fathers continued to lament slavery but made no move to eliminate it as they added to their land holdings and use enslaved laborers for surveying properties, harvesting commodity crops, and raising livestock. In 1775, George Washington bought a wooded tract, which was situated along Four Mile Run between Falls Church and its confluence with the Potomac River, from James and George Mercer.[126] George Mason had informed Washington of the 1,168-acre tract before the war, but the task of surveying it was continually interrupted, first by the Revolution and then by Washington's increasingly busy life as a prominent scientific farmer and public figure.[127] Features of Washington's Four Mile Run property, which was mostly undeveloped, included hills, woodlands, and "the ruins of an old Mill."[128] Washington was an accomplished surveyor, but the process of staking and unrolling often cumbersome iron and heavy wire chains for accurate measurement, required at least two other men as chain bearers. On April 22, 1785, Washington was

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Virginia, http://www.virginiamemory.com/blogs/out_of_the_box/2016/01/27/virginia-untold-deeds-of-emancipation-and-manumission/.

[123] Catherine W. Bishir, *Crafting Lives: African American Artisans in New Bern, North Carolina, 1770-1900* (University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 66-70.

[124] Costa, "Advertisements Database".

[125] Ibid.

[126] Charles W. Stetson, *Four Mile Run Land Grants* (Washington, D.C.: Mimeoform Press, 1935), 39-60.

[127] Wise, "Profiles, Part 2," 5.

[128] George Washington, "[Diary Entry: 22 April 1785]," National Archives and Records Administration & University of Virginia Press, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/01-04-02-0002-0004-0022.

accompanied by his cousin Lund Washington, a "Doctor Stewart," local resident Moses Ball, and enslaved laborer William Lee, who assisted in the land survey by unrolling the chain and staking the terrain's course.[129]

William Lee (1730?-1810), was an enslaved laborer at Mary Smith Ball Lee's Westmoreland County plantation when George Washington purchased him for £61.15 (approximately $10,091 in today's currency) on May 3, 1768.[130] Washington also purchased William's brother Frank and two young boys, Adam and Jacky.[131] William, described by Washington's adoptive grandson as "a stout, active man and a famous horseman," was quickly singled out for higher duties, possibly because he was already trained to attend to gentlemen's needs.[132] He became Washington's valet, assistant, and butler, and was constantly at his side for the following 20 years; during the Revolutionary War, William slept in the same tent as Washington, maintained his records, and carried his spyglass, among other duties.[133] Washington's will granted "immediate freedom" if he so wished, but, William's infirmities in mind, provided him with an annual payment of thirty dollars regardless "as a testimony of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his faithful services during the Revolutionary War."[134]

The Four Mile Run survey outing is significant for its association with William Lee and had far-reaching consequences for his health and employment. As described by George Washington himself, "after having run one course and part of another" as a chain bearer, William "fell and broke the pan of his knee, which put a stop to my Surveying, and with much difficulty I was able to get him back to Abingdon [the late John Parke Custis's residence at present-day Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport], being obliged to get a sled to carry him on as he could neither walk, stand, or ride."[135] Having broken one kneecap, William's troubles increased three years later when he broke his other kneecap, slipping on steps en route to the Alexandria Post Office to retrieve Washington's mail.[136] Eventually unable to walk, William was relieved of his duties as valet and butler, and by 1799 was listed at Mount Vernon as "Shoemaker—Lame—No Wife."[137] Washington kept the Four Mile Run tract, but did not develop it as he did his nearby farms. In his will, he left the 1,200-acre parcel to his step grandson, George Washington Parke Custis, who he adopted after Martha's son John Parke Custis of Abingdon Plantation died in 1781.[138]

In 1789, Virginia and Maryland voted to cede land to establish the new nation's capital. On July 16, 1790, the Residence Act affirmed the future seat of government and stipulated that each state's laws still applied in those territories until otherwise resolved.[139] The City of Washington was then founded in 1791. Following the

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[129] Ibid.

[130] "General Ledger Entry: 1768 May 3," National Archives and Records Administration & University of Virginia Center for Digital Editing, http://financial.gwpapers.org/?q=content/ledger-1750-1772-pg261.

[131] Ibid.

[132] George Washington Parke Custis, *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington* (Washington, D.C.: William Moore, 1859).

[133] Jessie MacLeod, "William (Billy) Lee," in *The Digital Encyclopedia of George Washington*.

[134] George Washington, "Last Will and Testament, 9 July 1799," National Archives and Records Administration & University of Virginia Press, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/06-04-02-0404-0001.

[135] "[Diary Entry: 22 April 1785]".

[136] "[Diary Entry: 1 March 1788]".

[137] "Negros Belonging to George Washington in His Own Right and by Marriage, June 1799," National Archives and Records Administration & University of Virginia Press, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/06-04-02-0405.

[138] "Last Will and Testament, 9 July 1799"; Kathryn Gettings Smith, "Arlington House Historic District, Arlington County, Virginia, National Register of Historic Places Boundary Increase & Additional Documentation," (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, National Capital Region, History Program Office, 2013).

[139] Johnny H. Killian et al., eds., *The Constitution of the United States of America Analysis and Interpretation: Analysis of Cases Decided by the Supreme Court of the United States to June 28, 2002* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2004),

directive of Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, Major Andrew Ellicott surveyed the boundaries for the newly-designated, 100-mile-square District of Columbia territory. Ellicott was first assisted by Benjamin Banneker, and then by his brothers in establishing the territory's latitude and longitude, with the outer demarcation of 40 boundary stones. Ten of these sandstone markers, including the SW-9 Intermediate Boundary Stone (NRHP 1976/NHL 1976), are in present-day Arlington County.[140] Following the survey of these boundaries, the land south of the Potomac River became Alexandria County of the District of Columbia in 1801.[141]

Benjamin Banneker (1731-1806), a free black whose surname came from his African grandfather Bannaka, lived most of his life as a tobacco farmer near present-day Ellicott City, Maryland. Although said to have only attended a rural school during winters as a child, Banneker was an avid reader and adept amateur mathematician whose 1780s friendship with mill owner George Ellicott proved transformative; gauging the retired farmer's potential talents, Ellicott loaned Banneker astronomical texts and instruments in 1789. After attempting to publish an almanac in 1790, Banneker came to the attention of George Ellicott's cousin Andrew (1754-1820), who hired him to assist with surveying the District of Columbia territory. During initial survey, due to Banneker's skill with astronomy, Ellicott assigned those tasks to him and took on the physical survey of the territory. Banneker, who was an amateur clockmaker, also maintained Ellicott's clock that related points on the ground to specific astronomical features. Once the first survey marker was sited at Jones Point, Banneker returned to his Oella, Maryland, home where he continued to compile astronomical data, including projected eclipses, until his death in 1806.[142] During this time, he briefly corresponded with Thomas Jefferson regarding race relations.[143]

While preparations were underway for the capital, the First Census of the United States recorded the number of residents in all the states that were established by that year – Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont, and Virginia. Schedules from multiple states, including Virginia, were destroyed during the War of 1812 when the British burned the Capitol in Washington; however, the state census of 1782, 1783, 1784, and 1785 were compiled to provide a substitute, albeit an incomplete one, for 1790. Based on that data, 82 "other free persons," 4,031 enslaved persons, and 5,458 free white persons lived in greater Fairfax County.[144] The population within present-day Arlington, which still had no towns, was much smaller as a few large plantations and many small yeoman and tenant farms were in operation, producing wheat,

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351-52.

[140] Each of the 40 original markers (of which 36 survive) was composed of sandstone quarried from a site off Aquia Creek known as Wigginton's Island in Stafford County, Virginia. Features of this stone that made it popular between the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century are its relatively light color and ease of carving; it was employed in the construction of the White House and the earlier sections of the U.S. Capitol, including the gatehouse. Unfortunately, Aquia Creek sandstone's mix of clay makes it a problematic stone for outdoor use, as it is prone to spalling. The stone located at Benjamin Banneker Park is one of nine markers placed a mile apart between the boundary markers' West and South Corner Stones; the markers between the corner stones, four feet in length and one foot square, were buried one-foot-deep in the ground, with the visible part engraved "Washington" facing the District of Columbia and, in the case of the SW-9 stone, "Virginia" facing the Alexandria County territory. "Boundary Stones of the District of Columbia," http://www.boundarystones.org/; Elaine McGee, "Federal District Boundary Markers in Northern Virginia: Condition and Preservation Issues," (Reston, Va.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1994).

[141] Bedini, *Benjamin Banneker*, 7-30; Fred Wilson and Howard Halle, "Mining the Museum," *Grand Street No. 44* 11, no. 4 (1993): 152, 68-69, 72.

[142] "Mining the Museum."

[143] Benjamin Banneker, "To Thomas Jefferson, 19 August 1791," National Archives and Records Administration & University of Virginia Press, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-22-02-0049.

[144] U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families of the First Census of United States Taken in the Year 1790. Records of the State Enumerations: 1782-1785. Virginia* (Washington: Govt. Print. Off., 1908), 9.

corn, and livestock. During this decade, the last two Northern Neck grants, both 12.5 acres, were issued as Virginia Treasury Warrants. John Ball, whose family had lived in the region since the 1740s and whose family did not own enslaved labor, claimed one, and Lewis, Elizabeth, Ann, and Sarah Hipkins, heirs of a long-time county slaveholder, Lewis Hipkins, claimed the other.[145]

As the eighteenth century ended, African enslavement was a controversial topic on both sides of the Atlantic. By 1784, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont abolitionist societies had already succeeded in banning slavery with a series of gradualist laws.[146] Smaller groups in the Upper South – Alexandria, Maryland, Delaware, and Kentucky – began meeting in the 1790s but only succeeded in assisting local African Americans with legal issues and education as even a gradualist approach landed on deaf ears. With a membership of 62 comprised primarily of Quakers and Baptists, the Alexandria Society was tasked with compiling a list of the state's slave related laws, lobbying their representatives, documenting the treatment and behavior of enslaved and free African Americans, and providing a wide variety of assistance to those in need. After their founding, the American Convention of Abolition Societies formed and met in Philadelphia at least every two years from 1794 to 1834. In December, 1795, the Alexandria Society opened a Sunday school, where they taught African Americans reading, writing, and math. In 1796, they assisted 26 "persons, Africans or of African descent" with legal fees related to being held in bondage unlawfully. At the 1797 convention in Philadelphia, an Alexandria delegate reported that six of them gained freedom based on the law against interstate importation, five were likely to be freed, and 14 were unlikely to win their cases. Some of these lawsuits occurred well beyond the county, including one in Norfolk, Virginia and another in North Carolina.[147]

While these groups were at work, "the successful slave revolt in Haiti in 1794 frightened many leaders of the new republic; consequently, free northern blacks lost suffrage and southern slave codes became harsher."[148] In 1793, Virginia had passed legislation requiring free negroes to register with the county clerk and renew every three years, though the latter part of the law was not always followed. Beginning in 1797, officials made over 2,350 entries into its registry for the rural part of Alexandria County of the District of Columbia, including age, name, color, stature, marks or scars, and where one was emancipated or whether one was born free. Each entry could contain additional information or multiple people, resulting in the entry of over 2,660 names. Many entries identify deeds of manumission, wills and probate documents, indentures of apprenticeship, and court cases.[149] In the first year, only one woman who was freed in Fredericksburg registered with the Fairfax County Court. The next two registered with the D.C. Circuit Court in 1802. Born to a free white woman in Fairfax County, Elizabeth Johnson, age 30, was described as a "bright Mullato [sic] with Black hair of Indian appearance" with a burn that destroyed her pinkie finger and damaged another. The other mulatto gained freedom in Prince George's County, Maryland.[150] In the early decades, many people entered in the registry came from surrounding counties in both Maryland and Virginia and from the larger plantations in the tidewater of the Northern Neck; however, in later decades, more were locally freed.[151]

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[145] Northern Neck Land Grant X, 205; X, 234.
[146] Smith and Zeidler, "A Historic Context for the African American Military Experience," 34.
[147] William Kesley et al., "Reports of the American Convention of Abolition Societies on Negroes and on Slavery, Their Appeals to Congress, and Their Addresses to the Citizens of the United States [Part I] " *The Journal of Negro History* VI, no. 3 (1921): 317-29.
[148] Smith and Zeidler, "A Historic Context for the African American Military Experience," 34.
[149] Provine, *Free Negro Registers*, vii-viii.
[150] Ibid., 1.
[151] Ibid.

In 1800, the U.S. Census included the racial categories of European, Native Indian, and African when many African Americans could identify as all of those. The local enumeration included free white males and females but only lump sums for free and enslaved persons. The present-day county included 14 free blacks, 297 enslaved persons, and 667 whites. The Town of Alexandria was far larger with 369 free blacks, 875 enslaved persons, and 3,727 whites.[152] As such, 31 percent of the rural county and 18 percent of the town was enslaved the year before the land was officially ceded to the District of Columbia.

African American Life in Alexandria County of the District of Columbia (1801-1847)

Under the 1801 District of Columbia Organic Act, present-day Arlington County was officially separated from Fairfax County, Virginia, and became known as Alexandria County of the District of Columbia, or the "country" part of the District. The Maryland land became known as Washington County. The port town of Georgetown and Washington maintained their own municipal governments as did the Town of Alexandria. Subsequently, the Fairfax Courthouse moved to its current location in the City of Fairfax, and the District of Columbia created a Circuit Court, which served Washington and Alexandria counties. White men accustomed to voting in each jurisdiction were disenfranchised though the white townsmen in Alexandria still elected their local officials. As stipulated in the earlier Resident Act, Virginia's and Maryland's civil and criminal codes remained in effect on each side of the river as Congress declined to create codes exclusively for the District;[153] thus, little changed for African Americans within Alexandria.

In 1802, Martha Washington died, leaving Mount Vernon in Fairfax County and that property's enslaved laborers to Bushrod Washington and 1,200 acres on Four Mile Run, which George Washington had surveyed with William Lee in Alexandria County, to George Washington Parke Custis along with 57 of Martha Washington's enslaved laborers. Custis moved the 57 laborers from Mount Vernon to establish Arlington House (NRHP 1966/NRHP Boundary Expansion 2013) near his boyhood home of Abingdon. The Custis family had been planters on Virginia's Northern Neck and in the West Indies for over three generations. Custis reportedly fathered Maria Carter, who was enslaved at Arlington House, until he freed her and her family and gave them a portion of land in 1826 three decades before he emancipated the rest of his slaves. She married an Alexandria street preacher who had been freed from Mount Vernon and had a son, Charles Syphax. Each following Syphax generation would take on important roles in the life of the county's African American community.[154] In addition to the few large plantations such as Arlington House and Abingdon, landowners continued to divide larger tracts into smaller farms operated by both whites and the few freed blacks who were enumerated there in 1800.[155]

During this period, the Virginia General Assembly attempted to prevent the free black population from growing and passed a law that required all emancipated slaves, freed after May 1, 1806, to leave within one year or they would be sold back into slavery "by the overseers for the benefit of the poor."[156] After the Revolution, the U.S. began to import enslaved labor again, but in 1807, Congress banned it permanently, effective January 1, 1808. The vote discouraged manumissions by raising the value of enslaved people and encouraged an intense

[152] Rose, Arlington County, 66.
[153] Killian et al., *The Constitution of the United States of America Analysis and Interpretation*.
[154] Smith, "Arlington House Historic District."; Robert M. Poole, *On Hallowed Ground: The Story of Arlington National Cemetery* (New York: Walker & Co., 2010), 85-86.
[155] Rose, *Arlington County*.
[156] June Purcell Guild, *Black Laws of Virginia: A Summary of the Legislative Acts of Virginia Concerning Negroes from Earliest Times to the Present* (New York: Whittet & Shepperson, 1936), 72.

domestic trade in which the Upper South exported one million black laborers to the Lower South between 1790 and 1860.[157] The illicit importation of the enslaved also persisted until the beginning of the Civil War. To meet the demand of masters on cotton plantations, many Upper South owners exploited the reproductive rights of enslaved women. Masters chose the strongest and/or most attractive enslaved people to procreate and traded their offspring to larger plantations in another wave of forced migration where African American families that had been together for generations in Virginia were separated and "sold down the river" (Ohio and Mississippi) just as their ancestors had been divided between Africa and the New World in the seventeenth century.[158] Northern Virginia plantation owners seized the opportunity to sell surplus people into the southern market. Franklin & Armfield, one of the largest slave trading firms in America, opened an office in the Town of Alexandria in the 1830s.[159]

Partly in reaction to this intensified trade, a series of safe houses that guided enslaved people to free territories began to develop and gradual abolition fell out of favor with calls for immediate action. The Underground Railroad's network usually consisted of small farms, homes, and businesses owned by Quakers and other progressives. With significant ports and bridges linking Alexandria County of the District of Columbia to Georgetown and the City of Washington, enslaved persons passed through the region but how many is impossible to ascertain. It is known that a few enslaved at large plantations in the region, including Mount Vernon, Gunston Hall, Sully, and Arlington House attempted escape.[160]

In 1810, the number of free blacks increased tenfold from 14 in 1800 to 141 in the rural part of Alexandria County of the District of Columbia. The enslaved population had comparatively minimal growth from 297 to 353 perhaps due to the recent ban on importation. The white population increased from 667 to 831. The Town of Alexandria also saw significant increases particularly among the free and enslaved blacks.[161] The number of free negro registrants fluctuated from year to year; however, there were twos gaps with no registrants from 1807 to 1808 and 1811 to 1813 and only one entry in 1814.[162] The lack of activity might be attributed to the War of 1812 (1812-1815). The U.S. declared war against Great Britain on June 18, 1812 frustrated with their presence in North America, encouragement of Native American attacks to the west, and taking of American sailors to fight British battles. When the British came to burn Washington, D.C., President James Madison sent his wife Dolly to gather government documents and hide in Virginia. The Declaration of Independence landed in an abandoned mill near Chain Bridge in Alexandria County of the District of Columbia.[163] As in the Revolution, African Americans served the U.S. and British Army, the latter of which again promised freedom to the

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[157] Wilma A. Dunaway, "The African American Family in Slavery and Emancipation," (New York: Maison des Sciences de l'homme/Cambridge University Press, 2010), 3.
[158] Ibid., 3-4, 114-15.
[159] Al Cox et al., "Discovering the Decades," (1999), https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/info/default.aspx?id=28254.
[160] William Still, Sarah Bradford, and Laura S. Haviland, Collected Record of Authentic Narratives, Facts & Letters: True Life Stories of Runaway Slaves and the Two Celebrated Female Conductors of the Underground Railroad, (e-artnow, 2017); Mary Ellen Snodgrass, *The Underground Railroad: An Encyclopedia of People, Places, and Operations* (London: Routledge, 2015).
[161] Provine, *Free Negro Registers*, x.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Paul B. Cissna, *Historical and Archeological Study of the George Washington Memorial Parkway from the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Bridge to the Lorcom Lane Turnabout on Spout Run Parkway, Arlington, Virginia : With Reference to the Archeology and History Along the Length of the Gwmp in Arlington County, Especially between the Fourteenth Street Bridge and Chain Bridge* (Washington, D.C.: Regional Archeology Program, National Capital Region, National Park Service, 1990).

enslaved. While most were in non-combatant roles, they were not entirely excluded from combat and had a strong presence in the Navy, comprising 10 to 20 percent of the branch.[164]

The inhabitants of Alexandria County of the District of Columbia had not been supportive of the War of 1812 partly due to their frustration with the lack of local financial support from the District.[165] In compliance with the 1790 Resident Act, federal funding and building was not to occur in the county. In 1816, the Virginia General Assembly created the Board of Public Works and started subsidizing infrastructure in rival ports, leaving Alexandria to tend to its own projects.[166] Despite promotional and financial neglect, Alexandrians carried out several infrastructure projects in the first half of the nineteenth century, including the construction of multiple crossings at present-day Chain Bridge to the north, Long Bridge near present-day Rochambeau Bridge to the south, and the Aqueduct Bridge from Georgetown to present-day Rosslyn. In addition, they developed turnpikes, the initial stages of the Alexandria Canal, and ultimately the first railroads.[167] Enslaved and free blacks in the rural part of the county likely assisted on these projects.

After the War of 1812, two groups with different visions for African Americans emerged in the City of Washington and involved Alexandria County of the District of Columbia residents. In 1816, George Washington Parke Custis's cousin Bushrod Washington became a founding member and first president of the American Colonization Society (ACS). The Custises became ardent supporters of the ACS.[168] In letters, Mary Lee Custis was particularly outspoken in her support of colonization, her convictions ranging from genuine belief that Africans, whether enslaved or free, belonged in their former native land, to concern surrounding the Nat Turner rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia in 1831.[169] Their daughter, Mary Anna Randolph Custis, who married Robert E. Lee in 1831, was also a member of the ACS.[170] After taking over Arlington House, the Lees sent at least one of their former enslaved laborers, William Burke, to live in a colony in Liberia by the late 1860s.[171]

After having participated in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 and feeling vested in the country's future, other African Americans were offended by a proposal to send them away from the United States.[172] In January 1817, a short time after the ACS had been founded, free black citizens gathered in Philadelphia's Mother Bethel African Methodist (AME) Church to voice their opposition of a mass return to Africa; according to white abolitionist James Forten, who presided at the meeting, the cries against colonization were such to "bring down the walls of the building."[173] Another local opponent took form in a counter-colonization group in

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[164] Smith and Zeidler, "A Historic Context for the African American Military Experience," 35.

[165] A. Glenn Crothers, "The 1846 Retrocession of Alexandria: Protecting Slavery and the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia," in *In the Shadow of Freedom: The Politics of Slavery in the National Capital*, ed. Paul Finkelman and Donald R. Kennon (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2011).

[166] William B. Hurd, "The City of Alexandria and Alexandria (Arlington) County," *Alexandria History*1983, 4-5.

[167] Rose, *Arlington County*, 75-77.

[168] John Seh David, *The American Colonization Society and the Founding of the First African Republic: A History of the Private Enterprise That Made Uneasy Peace with Slavery to Rescue Free Africans and Transplant Them on the West Coast of Africa* (Bloomington, In.: iUniverse LLC, 2014).

[169] Mary Lee Fitzhugh Custis Papers, "Mss2c9695a, Items A1, A2," (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society); "Mss2c9695b, Items 1-8," (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society); "Mss1l5144a, Sections 9-11," (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society).

[170] Lee Family Papers, "Mss1l51c., Item C734," (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society).

[171] Mary Lee Fitzhugh Custis Papers, "Mss1l5144a, Section 63," (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society).

[172] Constance McLaughlin Green, *Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital* (NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967; repr., 2015).

[173] Brandon R. Byrd, "Making American White 200 Years Ago," (2017), http://www.publicbooks.org/making-america-white-200-

Washington, D.C., called the Resolute Beneficial Society (RBS), who preferred to look after the immediate concerns of free blacks such as burial expenses and schools in Washington, which Alexandria County of the District of Columbia's free blacks with means could attend.[174] Within ten years, however, the RBS foundered and its co-founder, Scipio Beans, left for Haiti to become a missionary for the African Methodist Episcopal Church.[175]

An economic slump and exhausted fields in Northern Virginia contributed to an exodus of citizens. In 1820 Alexandria County of the District of Columbia's free black population declined from 141 to 122, and the enslaved population climbed from 353 to 422. The white population grew from 831 to 941. In 1830, the free black population grew from 122 to 177, surpassing its height in 1810. The county's enslaved population decreased, dropping from 422 back to 353 the same total as 1810. The white population declined as well from 941 to 802, less than the number who lived there in 1810.[176] Population decline amongst whites and enslaved blacks throughout Virginia during this time can be partially attributed to growing stability farther west. Kentucky especially attracted many Virginians, who settled on bounty land granted to the Commonwealth's veterans of the American Revolution and War of 1812. Another issue was continued discontent with the lack of support from Virginia or the District in Alexandria County of the District of Columbia.[177] In 1832, white male Alexandrians had the opportunity to vote on retrocession from the District to Virginia but rejected it 419 to 310. In 1838, white men in Georgetown rejected retrocession to Maryland by 410 to 139 votes, indicating greater satisfaction as beneficiaries of public funding.[178]

In 1840, the free black population in the rural part of Alexandria County of the District of Columbia grew from 177 to 235, an all-time high. The enslaved population decreased for a second time, dropping from 353 to 300. The white population increased from 802 to the highest it had ever been at 973.[179] By this time, Congress had refused to re-charter local banks, which interrupted cash flow and business, stirring residents in the Town of Alexandria to renew the retrocession debate. The *Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser* took a poll resulting in 537 over 155 supporting a return to the Commonwealth of Virginia. Not only frustrated with a lack of funding from the capital, white residents feared that the slave trade would be banned all together in the District of Columbia. During this period, other markets, such as wheat, had declined, yet the slave trade thrived and provided significant local employment and income.[180]

Locals lobbied the Virginia General Assembly to accept Alexandria back into the Commonwealth for six years. They also lobbied U.S. Congress for support focusing on general economics and disenfranchisement. Finally gaining the support they needed in 1846, Town of Alexandria voters confirmed retrocession with 763 white men in support and 222 against. Alexandria County of the District of Columbia 's rural white men opposed retrocession 106 to 29, because taxes would go up to finance the Alexandria Canal. Black residents presumably

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years-ago/.

[174] Green, *Secret City*.

[175] Byrd, "Making American White 200 Years Ago"; Richard R. Wright, ed. *Centennial Encylopaedia [Sic] of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia, Pa.: 1916). Byrd cites that 13,000 African Americans emigrated to Haiti in the 1820s, versus the 10,000 who sailed to Liberia between 1816 and 1856, hypothesizing that a Western Hemisphere African-governed republic was more attractive to black citizens than a remote outpost in West Africa.

[176] Provine, *Free Negro Registers*, x.

[177] Crothers, "The 1846 Retrocession of Alexandria."

[178] Provine, *Free Negro Registers*, x.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Hurd, "The City of Alexandria and Alexandria (Arlington) County," 4; Crothers, "The 1846 Retrocession of Alexandria," 153.

did not support retrocession into the state that had the most enslaved laborers in the U.S. They expressed their vote by leaving. Between 1840 and 1850, the free black population within the town and rural part of the county dropped 15 percent from 1,962 to 1,409 and 11 percent more between 1850 and 1860.[181]

African American Life in Alexandria County, Virginia before the War (1847-1861)

Transfer of Alexandria County of the District of Columbia back to Virginia became official in 1847. The land area of the District was reduced by 1/3, and the portion of the Federal district returned to Virginia became Alexandria County.[182] In 1847, a record number of 775 free blacks registered with the local court in anticipation of the transition.[183] As the county had hoped, Virginia began purchasing bonds and assisting with debt to complete the Alexandria Canal and continue rail expansion.[184] The same year, L.P. Noble began publishing the anti-slavery weekly paper, *The National Era*, in the City of Washington, covering local anti-slavery activities in both Maryland and Virginia as well as around the nation. On November 28, 1850, *The National Era* reported theories on the 1850 census:

> Georgetown and Alexandria, with the country portion of the District, contained in 1840, 15,662 inhabitants; they contain now 16,637, showing an increase of only 995. The increase in Washington city is doubtless owing to the fact of its being the seat of the Federal Government. The stationary condition of the population in Georgetown and the country portion of the District, every body [sic] must attribute to slavery.

As Alexandrians had anticipated, Congress eliminated the slave trade in the District of Columbia in the Compromise of 1850. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 mandated that governments assist white masters in confiscating their escaped enslaved labor; however, Northern jurisdictions often did not comply.[185] By this time, antebellum plantation life had already significantly declined in Arlington. A total of 590 African Americans were registered as free during the decade.[186] Custis died in 1857, leaving his daughter Mary and son-in-law Robert E. Lee to contend with freeing his enslaved labor.[187]

Farmers from New England and the Mid-Atlantic came to the region in search of cheaper land in a less-industrialized area and brought with them a different approach to farming and attitude towards slavery.[188] One Boston man, who traveled through the south interviewing enslaved and free black and white people about land value and wages wrote in 1859:

> The county is the smallest in the Commonwealth, and is almost exclusively held in small lots, on which market produce is raised…

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[181] Mark David Richards, "The Debates over the Retrocession of the District of Columbia, 1801–2004," *Washington History* 16, no. 1 (2004): 5.
[182] Crothers, "The 1846 Retrocession of Alexandria."
[183] Provine, *Free Negro Registers*.
[184] Crothers, "The 1846 Retrocession of Alexandria."
[185] Jenny Masur and National Capital Region National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom, "The Underground Railroad in the Capital Region," http://www.fxva.com/civil-war/people-stories/experiences/underground-railroad/.
[186] Provine, *Free Negro Registers*.
[187] Poole, *On Hallowed Ground*, 34-35.
[188] Rose, *Arlington County*.

> For three or four miles around Alexandria, the country is as beautiful as beautiful can be. I walked through it "like a dream." The day was exceedingly pleasant — a soft, warm zephyr was blowing from the south — almost ponderous, at times, with the perfume of blossoms, shrubbery and flowers; the clear blue sky, variegated with fleecy clouds, in every variety of combination as to color and form — the shining waters of the apparently tranquil Potomac, visible and beautiful in the distance — cultivated fields in the valley and running up the hill-slopes, studded with houses, and interspersed with innumerable strips of forest in full foliage — made a landscape, a terrestrial picture, of almost celestial charms and other-worldly perfection.
>
> For two or three miles on the road I travelled, the land is chiefly held in small sections, and devoted to the culture of market produce.
>
> Northern farmers first began to settle in this county in 1841. At that time, this section, now one of the most fertile in the State, was desolate and sterile, and the question was seriously discussed whether it could ever again be cultivated. The Northerners bought up the run-out farms, and immediately began to renovate the soil. Fertility reappeared — the wilderness began to blossom as the rose. Virginia farmers began to see that there was still some hope for their lands, and immediately commenced to imitate and emulate their Northern neighbors. The result is a beautiful and fertile country — fertile and beautiful, too, in exact proportion to the preponderance of Northern population. [189]

The writer was not so kind in describing the Town of Alexandria, which was chartered as a city in the year of his visit.[190] Before long, the region he described was completely altered by the impending Civil War. In 1861, the last four entries including 21 persons were recorded in Alexandria County's free negro registry.[191]

Union Occupation during the Civil War (1861-1865)

Fort Whipple and the Establishment of Freedman's Village at Arlington House

On May 23, 1861, Virginia formally seceded from the Union by a vote of 97,000 to 32,000. In a public referendum, Alexandrians voted 958 in favor of secession with only 106 opposing.[192] The morning after the vote, Federal troops occupied the county and took control of Arlington House in order to defend the nation's capital. Mary Custis Lee vacated Arlington House, entrusting the keys to her personal enslaved servant Selina Norris Gray, and immediately thereafter Major General Charles W. Stanford set up headquarters in the mansion house.[193] The surrounding landscape changed, as much of the county's forests were cleared for an extensive system of forts and entrenchments built by the Union Army to defend the nation's capital. Among other installations, the Union built Fort Whipple, present-day Fort Myer (NRHP/NHL 1972), on the plantation grounds and Fort Jackson to defend the Long Bridge to Washington. The city of Alexandria and the surrounding county would remain occupied by federal troops throughout the war. In addition to Arlington House, other

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[189] James Redpath, *The Roving Editor or, Talks with Slaves in the Southern States* (New York: A. B. Burdick, 1859), 211, 14-15, 23.
[190] Cox et al., "Discovering the Decades".
[191] Provine, *Free Negro Registers*.
[192] William F. Smith and T. Michael Miller, *A Seaport Saga: A Portrait of Old Alexandria, Virginia* (Norfolk, Virginia: Donning Company, 1989).
[193] The Grays later became prominent citizens of "Arlingtonville," later known as Arlington View.

private homes and businesses were taken over by the occupying army, and the City of Alexandria was used as a staging point for the various military campaigns in Virginia.[194]

Given its location along the northern border of Virginia, combined with its occupation by federal troops and their confiscation of the Arlington House property, Alexandria County was a logical location for the establishment of a model Freedman's Village for contraband slaves. At the beginning of the Civil War, U.S. officials were required to send fugitives back to their owners, but by mid-1861 the government began to refer to freedom-seekers as contraband of war since they were technically property. On March 13, 1862, Congress passed the Confiscation Act, which prohibited officers or military personnel from using force to return fugitives. Following the Compensated Emancipation Act of 1862, which paid slaveholders in the District of Columbia for the freedom of enslaved people, and the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, thousands of contraband refugees fled to Washington, D.C. for freedom and protection. Numerous camps were set up to accommodate the refugees, but these quickly became overcrowded and vulnerable to disease. To alleviate the conditions at the contraband camps in the District, a portion of the former Custis-Lee estate was selected to establish a model Freedman's Village. The ample space and fresh air of the former plantation would allow the refugees to cultivate land for their own subsistence while also providing for the Union Army.

The Freedman's Village at Arlington opened in June 1863 and was formally dedicated in December. The dedication service was held in the new chapel built by the American Tract Society. Members of the U.S. Congress and military, as well as Northern philanthropists attended the dedication service. During the ceremony, led by Lieutenant Colonel Elias M. Greene, Chief Quartermaster of the Military Department of Washington, and N.P. Kemp of the American Tract Society, it was noted that many of the former enslaved farm laborers owned by Robert E. Lee were now cultivating the property for themselves. The village was dedicated to "make many comfortable and happy who have spent long years of unrequited toil with the goal of making the formerly enslaved workers self-sufficient."[195]

Freedman's Village initially operated under the supervision of the Quartermaster's Office of the Military Department and was intended as a temporary refugee settlement for contraband during the war. Fifty-one small frame dwellings were constructed by Union Army workers and contraband artisans to house two to four families each.[196] "The buildings were generally of frame in size about 26 by 24 feet one and a half stories in height with 8 rooms each. They had shingled roofs, brick tines, and were sheathed on the outside with rough weather boarding. They were not plastered or ceiled [sic] inside."[197] The front-gabled buildings were supported by a wood or brick pier foundation with no skirting and had a central primary entrance flanked by small window openings, and at least three windows on the upper story. The duplex dwellings were similar with four bays. The multi-bay barracks-style housing, depicted in a c. 1864-1866 photograph, were side-gable but follow a comparable format, with the plain façade and diminutive rectangular upper-story window openings.[198] Photographs show that Freedman's Village housing was located on unpaved paths and roads; an 1865 map depicts several of the units arranged on either side of Hamlin Drive, within a development served by

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[194] Lieutenant-Colonel Robert N. Scott, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, vol. II, I (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880); C. B. Rose, Jr., "Civil War Forts in Arlington," *Arlington Historical Magazine* 1, no. 4 (1960).

[195] "Freedmen's Village, Virginia," *New York Times*, December 12, 1863.

[196] Roberta Schildt, "Freedman's Village: Arlington, Virginia," *Arlington Historical Magazine* 7, no. 4 (1984): 15.

[197] United States, *The Executive Documents of the House of Representatives: For the First Session of the Fiftieth Congress, 1887-'88, in Thirty-Two Volumes* (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1889), 5-11.

[198] "Freedman's Village, Arlington, Virginia," *Harper's Weekly*, May 7, 1864.

meandering, curvilinear roads and surrounded by open parks that would become part of Arlington National Cemetery.[199]

The American Tract Society, with financial support from northern philanthropists, provided for the construction and operation of a school, a hospital, a home for the aged and infirmed, and a church at the village.[200] Lt. Col. Greene established strict regulations for the registration of all occupants, work assignments, payroll accounts, school attendance requirements, and the orderly maintenance of the village.[201] The regulations stated that:

> The Superintendent of Contrabands will, without delay, select the most intelligent of the young men and women, and assign them to duty in the workshops; have the able-bodied field hands transferred to the Superintendent of Government farms; send the children to school; the sick to hospital; and the aged and infirm to the home provided for them. Those able to labor will have the clothing furnished to them charged against their earnings.[202]

Monthly reports by the Quartermaster's Office documented the changes in the population—including births, deaths, arrivals and departures—as well as lists of residents qualified for employment or exemptions. All able-bodied refugees were expected to work to earn wages and pay rent. Many of the residents worked in the fields of the former plantation while others trained in the industrial school as blacksmiths, wheelwrights, tailors, shoemakers, and other skilled jobs.[203] Signature records from the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company from 1866 for James Clinckett, a 39-year old laborer at Freedman's Village, indicate that he earned $8 a day and paid $10 a year to rent five acres of land.[204] [205] The school, which was operated by the American Tract Society, opened in December 1863 with 150 students.[206] By 1865, the school was reported to have three teachers and 242 students.[207] The Freedman's Relief Association assigned Sojourner Truth, the well-known abolitionist and activist for the rights of black women, to work as a counselor at Freedman's Village in 1864. During her yearlong assignment, she taught, preached, trained women in domestic work, assisted residents in finding employment, and advocated for their rights.[208] While the population of Freedman's Village fluctuated, a census taken in 1865 estimated 980 residents at the end of the war.[209]

Improvised Contraband Settlements

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[199] Department of Washington, "Freedman's Village near Arlington Heights, Virginia," (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 1865).
[200] "Freedmen's Village, Virginia."
[201] Elias M. Greene, "Regulations for the Government of Freedman's Village, Greene Heights, Arlington, Va," ed. Department of Washington (Washington, D.C.: Philp & Solomons, Printers and Stationers, 1863).
[202] Ibid.
[203] Schildt, "Freedman's Village: Arlington, Virginia," 18.
[204] Reginald Washington, "The Freedman's Savings and Trust Company and African American Genealogical Research," *Federal Records and African American History* 29, no. 2 (1997).
[205] U.S. Bureau of Refugees Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, "Miscellaneous Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the District of Columbia, 1865-1869," (Washington, D.C.: National Archives).
[206] Schildt, "Freedman's Village: Arlington, Virginia," 16.
[207] Henry Barnard, "Special Report of the Commission of Education on the Condition and Improvement of Public Schools in the District of Columbia," (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Education, 1871), 231.
[208] Schildt, "Freedman's Village: Arlington, Virginia," 15-16.
[209] Tim Dennée, "Miscellaneous Personal Data on Alexandria African Americans, 1862-1868," *Historical and Genealogical Resources* (2008), http://www.freedmenscemetery.org/resources/documents/personaldata.pdf.

There is evidence that some contraband chose to establish their own camps rather than live in Freedman's Village. The testimony of Mrs. Louisa Jane Barker, Lieutenant Charles H. Shepard, an officer in the 1st Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, and Danforth B. Nichols, superintendent of contrabands at Freedman's Village describe a camp of contraband that originally settled in front of Arlington House before being relocated to the rear of Freedman's Village near Fort Albany. Mrs. Barker, wife of the Chaplain of the 1st Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, visited the camp regularly and was in the process of securing funds from contacts in Boston to help the sixteen families build a school. Superintendent Nichols recounted advising the residents, who numbered between 60 and 100 at the time, on the construction of houses upon their relocation. He also noted that many of the men worked in the government corrals or the engineer's corps at Balls River. Mrs. Barker explained, "they expressed great reluctance to enter Freedman's Village, because they felt more independent in supporting themselves, and families, after the manner of white laborers."[210] After repeated complaints about the camp from Fort Albany, Major General Christopher C. Auger, commandant of the Washington Department of War, ordered that the camp be forcibly removed in November 1863. The residents, including approximately 150-to-200 women and children, were relocated either to Freedman's Village or other government-supervised camps in Washington, D.C.

Despite the government's intention to provide for the refugees, the contraband camps were not always appreciated. Lieutenant Sheppard recalled the reaction of the camps' residents in his testimony:

> One man said he thought it was mighty hard that, after they had laid out every dollar they had, they should be treated so; & some said they rather go back into slavery than to receive such treatment: they seemed to think they were imposed upon, & said they were as much slaves now than they ever had been: they said they would rather be independent; did not want to be of any expense to the government but desired to live on the produce of their own labor & did not want any superintendent or overseer.[211]

While it is not known how many of these unofficial camps or settlements existed in Alexandria County during the war, it is important to understand that some contraband chose to provide for themselves independent of the federal government.

Military Service, Camp Casey, and the Founding of Arlington National Cemetery

Beginning in 1863, African American men were allowed to join the Union Army as recruitment declined.[212] Approximately 178,000 African Americans served in the United States Colored Troops (U.S.C.T.) during the Civil War with over 5,000 joining from Virginia.[213] Hezekiah Dorsey (1834-1917), a formerly enslaved farm

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[210] U.S. Army Continental Commands Department of Washington, "Destruction of a Contraband Village Settled near the Colored Camp at Arlington: Testimony of Mrs. Louisa Jane Barker, by Lieutenant Charles H. Shepard, an Officer in the 1st Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, and by Danforth B. Nichols, Superintendent of Contrabands at Freedman's Village," in *Miscellaneous Records, Series 5412, Record Group 393 Pt. 1, January 1864* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 1864).

[211] Ibid.

[212] Edward A. Jr. Miller, "Volunteers for Freedom: Black Civil War Soldiers in Alexandria National Cemetery, Part I," *Historic Alexandria Quarterly*, no. Fall (1998).

[213] Andre and Peter C. Luebke Fleche, "The United States Colored Troops," in *Encyclopedia Virginia* (Richmond: Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 2016).

laborer who is buried at the Calloway United Methodist Church cemetery, served in the 31st Regiment of the U.S.C.T.[214] John Wallace, a waiter and landsman born in the county in 1845, served in the Navy in D.C.[215]

Camp Casey, which was located along Columbia Pike (either near Glebe Road or the Long Bridge), served as the mustering ground for the 23rd U.S. Colored Infantry as well as the training grounds for numerous other African American troops during the Civil War. This camp (no longer extant) was significant as the only recruitment and training camp for African American troops located in a Confederate state.[216]

In 1864, the United States purchased the Arlington House grounds in a tax sale and designated 200 acres of the estate for use as a military cemetery.[217] Over 1,500 soldiers are buried in Section 27 of Arlington National Cemetery with "U.S.C.T." marked on their gravestones.[218] Over 3,000 contrabands from Freedman's Village and the District of Columbia are also buried in Section 27 with "civilian" or "citizen" on their markers.[219]

Settlements during Reconstruction (1865-1902)

Acts of Reconstruction and Enfranchisement

Following the surrender of the Confederate Army in April 1865, the United States government faced the challenge of the political and legal reconciliation with the southern states as well as their social and economic reconstruction. In 1865, slavery was abolished and all enslaved people were freed under the 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution.[220] The congressional elections of 1866 and the 1868 election of Republican Ulysses S. Grant as president put the radical Republican Party in power. Under their leadership, the 14th Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1866 were passed to provide equal protection under the law to all citizens, to provide universal male suffrage, and to define citizens as all native-born Americans and former slaves. The southern states that refused to ratify the 13th and 14th Amendments were placed under military rule. After the General Assembly rejected the amendments in 1867, Virginia was put under the military leadership of Major General John M. Schofield. Schofield called for a constitutional convention that provided the first opportunity for African Americans to participate in government. Although 25 of the 102 delegates to the convention were African American, the two delegates from Alexandria County were white.[221] Virginia ratified the 14th Amendment in 1869 and was readmitted to the Union in 1870. The Virginia Constitution of 1870 provided for universal male suffrage. A separate referendum to disenfranchise former Confederate soldiers and politicians was defeated. The 15th Amendment, which protected voting rights, was also passed in 1870. The

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[214] Arlington County, "Calloway Cemetery," (Arlington County, Va.: Department of Community Planning, Housing and Development, Historic Preservation Program, 2016).
[215] "Us, African American Civil War Sailor Index, 1861-1865 [Database on-Line]," (Provo, Ut.: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2014).
[216] Chelsea Gilmour, "The Mystery of the Civil War's Camp Casey," *Consortium News* (2005), https://consortiumnews.com/2015/02/26/the-mystery-of-the-civil-wars-camp-casey/.
[217] States, *Executive Documents of the House 1887-'88*, 5-11.
[218] Arlington National Cemetery, "Black History at Arlington National Cemetery," http://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/Explore/Notable-Graves/Minorities/Black-History-at-ANC.
[219] Tim Dennée, "African American Civilians Interred in Section 27 of Arlington National Cemetery, 1864-1867," in *38th Annual Conference on D.C. Historical Studies* (Alexandria, Va.: The Friends of Freedmen's Cemetery, 2011).
[220] Miller, "Volunteers for Freedom: Black Civil War Soldiers in Alexandria National Cemetery, Part I."
[221] Charles A. Kromkowski, "Elections and State Elected Officials Database Project, 1776 - 2008," (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, Department of Politics/Center for Politics/Library, 2008).

Civil Rights Act of 1875 prohibited discrimination in public accommodations and transportation and provided for a voter's right to serve on juries to all people, regardless of race.

Freedman's Village under the Freedman's Bureau

While creating this framework, the U.S. War Department established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (the Freedman's Bureau) in 1866 to assist impoverished white people in the South and formerly enslaved people, particularly the thousands in the contraband camps, as they made the transition from servitude to freedom.

> It issued food and clothing, operated hospitals and temporary camps, helped locate family members, promoted education, helped freedmen legalize marriages, provided employment, supervised labor contracts, provided legal representation, investigated racial confrontations, settled freedmen on abandoned or confiscated lands, and worked with African American soldiers and sailors and their heirs to secure back pay, bounty payments, and pensions.[222]

The Freedman's Bureau was initially authorized to operate for only one year, but was extended in 1866 and 1868 before finally ceasing operations in 1872. The oversight of Freedman's Village in Arlington was transferred to the Bureau in 1866, while soldiers of the 107th Regiment of the U.S.C.T. were stationed at there to help defend former contraband from their former owners.[223] Having established the village as a temporary settlement, the federal government attempted to close it once the war was over but met strong resistance from residents who had established roots there. Several churches had formed, including Little Zion AME Church (1863), Mount Zion Baptist Church (1866), and Mount Olive Baptist Church (1873). Instead of closing the village entirely, the government closed the Abbott Hospital in 1868 and sold the school building to Alexandria County for $75 in 1871 for its new public school system.[224]

They also sold many of the houses on half-acre or one-acre lots to the residents beginning in 1868 and three-to-ten-acre parcels for farming. In 1888, the office of the U.S. Quartermaster wrote:

> The price paid was from $35 to $50 for each building. As a rule, from two to four persons would unite in the purchase of one building and occupy with their families from two to four rooms each. From the time of such purchase, now about twenty years most of the purchasers have improved the premises by reflooring, by reroofing, by plastering or ceiling [sic] the rooms, and in several cases such improvements have been equal to twice or thrice the original cost of the building.[225]

The 1888 account continues, "there were several smaller houses which had been erected by the United States in connection with the defenses of Washington and these also were sold to the freedmen. And these there are some eight buildings of brick or log which were erected many years ago for his slaves by Mr. Custis, the former owner of the Arlington estate [and] are still occupied by those persons." After the Freedman's Bureau departed, "about 84 buildings occupied as dwellings have been erected. They are occupied by the builders or by those

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[222] U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, "African American Records: Freedmen's Bureau," (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Trust Fund Board, n.d.).
[223] Schildt, "Freedman's Village: Arlington, Virginia," 18.
[224] Rose, *Arlington County*, 124; United States Census, 1870.
[225] States, *Executive Documents of the House 1887-'88*.

purchased from the builders. To these have been added small outbuildings such stables, sheds, chicken houses, etc."

In 1872, the Freedman's Bureau was unauthorized, and the Secretary of War declared all of the former Arlington House plantation outside of Arlington National Cemetery be designated as part of the military reservation of Fort Whipple (Fort Myer) other than land sold to the inhabitants of Freedman's Village; though, a few landowners were forced to relocate their buildings and farms to other parts of the village when the post planned for expansion. Those who could not afford to purchase a house within the village paid rent or bartered labor to the commanding officer of the fort. Some sub-let these houses as well. A few persons formerly enslaved at Arlington House and a few elderly or poor persons were allowed to stay at the village rent free.[226]

The Separation of City and County and Growth of Communities

In 1870, the City of Alexandria separated from Alexandria County, leaving the county without an industrialized, urban center. The total population for the county was 3,185, of which 2,010 (63 percent) were African Americans and 1,175 (37 percent) were white. Three magisterial districts were delineated as Arlington, Jefferson, and Washington. Their breakdown by race provides some insight into the county's racial distribution and settlement patterns.[227] The percentage of African Americans was slightly higher in the districts of Jefferson (69.5 percent), which included most of Freedman's Village, and Arlington (67 percent), which included the remainder of the Arlington tract and property of the Syphax family. The less populated Washington District, with a total population of just 555, was more evenly distributed with 51 percent blacks and 49 percent whites.[228]

Outside of Freedman's Village, African Americans often self-segregated seeking safety, a sense of community, and the opportunity to become leaders in their own churches, schools, and civic organizations, which was forbidden before the war. Typically, African Americans moved to land that was either part of a large tract already owned by an African American or purchased by a land speculator, usually from the North, who would sell land to African Americans before the creation of exclusionary zoning and deed restrictions. The latter sometimes resulted in the formation of numerous smaller communities such as Pelham Town, the black quarter of Rosslyn, and others, that no longer exist.[229] Several churches that had formed in Freedman's Village moved to new locations as opportunities for land acquisition increased for African Americans. Sometimes, the church lot was the first property to be purchased in the community, and the congregants were the first residents.

The Green Valley/Nauck area was already inhabited by black families, including Levi and Sarah Jones, he having settled there before the war, and Thornton and Selina Gray, formerly enslaved at Arlington House, who arrived in 1867, when white German immigrant, John D. Nauck, Jr. subdivided the neighborhood in 1874 and 1875. Little Zion AME Church, founded in 1863 as Wesley Zion Church, moved from Freedman's Village to a one-acre lot in Nauck in 1874. African Americans began farming land in the Hall's Hill/High View Park area right after the war on Bazil Hall's former plantation attracting Calloway United Methodist to move from the Freedman's Village in 1870. After failing to sell the whole piece of land, the former slave owner subdivided and sold lots to African Americans beginning in 1881. Johnson's Hill/Arlington View developed on John Roberts Johnson's plantation shortly after the war as the former slave owner began to advocate for African Americans

[226] Ibid.
[227] Dennée, "Miscellaneous Personal Data on Alexandria African Americans, 1862-1868".; United States Census, 1870.
[228] Rose, *Arlington County*, 128.
[229] Nancy Perry, "The Influence of Geography on the Lives of African American Residents of Arlington County, Virginia, During Segregation" (George Mason University, 2013), 5.

and fund a school in 1872. He eventually began to sell lots and attracted many of the inhabitants of the Freedman's Village. Penrose was developed not long after when two African American residents of Freedman's Village, Henry L. Holmes and William H. Butler, purchased land west of Fort Myer and subdivided the neighborhood in 1882.

During Reconstruction, farming remained the primary occupation, regardless of race, with the value of farm output at $97,024 in 1870.[230] The five brickyards located along the banks of the Potomac River by 1878 also provided many jobs for African Americans following the war.[231] Of the 991 African Americans in the county that listed their occupation on the 1880 census, 473 worked on farms, 320 were listed as laborers, 75 were listed as "servant" or "house servant;" 50 as "washerwoman" or "laundress;" 55 as "nurses;" and 18 as "cook." Beginning in the 1880s, the brickyards were joined by an industrial sprawl of warehouses, iron-fabricating factories, and junk lots that spread south along the railroad and river on the eastern edge of the county. These industrial complexes were important as they employed both immigrants and African Americans and spurred the growth of integrated neighborhoods, which are no longer extant.

With the provision for a public-school system included in Virginia's 1870 constitution, the county began to identify these burgeoning black communities and where to locate educational institutions within the magisterial districts, frequently establishing them in the churches or lodges. In 1871, discrepancies with what would be provided for black residents in a supposedly equal society were already clear. Alexandria County purchased the existing Freedman's Village school building for $75 and opened another, providing two schools for a total of 207 black students, while providing three schools for only 126 white students.[232] In Hall's Hill/High View Park, the Sumner School started in Calloway United Methodist Church in 1872 before moving to space in the Odd Fellow's Hall in 1876. Likewise, what would become the Kemper School started in 1875 in Lomax AME Zion Church in the Green Valley/Nauck community. By 1881, expansion of African American communities was evident in the Superintendent's records that reported that the total number of schools for blacks had increased to five, including Jefferson and Scott in the Jefferson District, Sumner in the Washington District, and Freedman's School and Kemper in Arlington District.

While the education system was in its infancy, African Americans began to take an active role in local and state politics as members of the Republican Party, particularly in the black-dominated districts of Jefferson and Arlington. George Seaton, who was reported to be worth $100,000 in 1865, served as a delegate to the Virginia General Assembly from 1869 to 1871.[233] He was then elected as county clerk in 1871 and served in that position for 18 months before being removed for incompetency. John Syphax was then elected to the position in 1872 but withdrew for lack of qualification. Syphax was also elected as treasurer in 1875 but failed to meet the security requirements to fill the position.[234] He went on to serve a term as delegate to the General Assembly from 1874 to 1875, during which time he introduced a bill to construct a free bridge from the county to Washington, D.C. In 1879, Syphax was appointed Justice of the Peace for the Arlington Magisterial District.[235] Henry L. Holmes served as Commissioner to the Revenue from 1875 to 1903. Several residents of Freedman's Village represented the Jefferson District as Supervisors during this period, including William A. Rowe (1871-

[230] United States Census, 1870-1900.
[231] Perry, "The Influence of Geography," 88.
[232] Rose, *Arlington County*, 124.
[233] "One of the Colored Representatives in the Virginia Legislature, Mr. George Seaton, Is Worth $100,000," *The Pittsburgh Gazette*, November 1, 1865.
[234] Rose, *Arlington County*, 127-129.
[235] E. Percil Stanford, *Suburban Black Elderly* (Los Alamitos, Ca.: Hwong Publishing Co., 1978), 32.

1879), Travis Penn (1879-1888), John W. Pendleton (1883-1884), and Tibbett Allen (1887-1888). Rowe, who also served as the county's first black policeman, moved to the Arlington District in 1879 and served as Supervisor from that district until 1883. Two other African Americans, R.C. Ruffin and William Lomax, were elected as county Sheriff in 1873 and 1883, respectively, but were disqualified for various reasons. William H. Butler and William A. Rowe were appointed by the Board of Supervisors to serve as Superintendent of the Poor. Butler also served as Superintendent of Roads. Despite several failed ventures into government positions due to supposed lack of qualifications, the number and frequency of African Americans elected to public office was indicative not only of their enthusiasm to serve, but also the strength, particularly in the Jefferson and Arlington districts, of the African American vote.[236]

The leadership of African Americans within their communities was also evident in the establishment of civic, fraternal, and sororal organizations. Like the churches, these organizations provided an opportunity for African Americans to support one another and their community. "Providing financial, spiritual, and emotional aid, they were invaluable to the communities they served. African American fraternities… had the added purpose of improving self-esteem. First instituted during slavery, the membership, rituals, uniforms, and offices of these societies generated a respect not available outside of the lodges."[237] Involvement in the operations and activities of these organizations also helped to hone leadership skills among its members.

On March 10, 1884, the General Assembly passed an act to incorporate Stevens Lodge No. 1435 of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, "a benevolent institution… which has for its object mutual aid and assistance to its members in time of sickness, the burying of deceased members, the support of their widows and the education of their orphans."[238] Henry L. Holmes, Tibbett Allen, Jacob N. Williams, I. W. Wormley, and J. W. Pendleton were the first trustees. Stevens Lodge No. 1435 built a hall and established a cemetery at 1600 Columbia Pike near Penrose in 1892. The cemetery contained as many as 700 African American graves. After the lodge was destroyed by fire in 1965, the land was eventually sold and the graves were disinterred in 1968 with many relocated to Coleman Cemetery in Fairfax County.[239]

In 1888, a group of African American masons who had organized what is thought to be the first black lodge in the state in 1845 requested a charter under the Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Virginia established in 1875. Henry L. Holmes served as the first official Grand Worshipful Master of Alexandria Lodge No. 58 and Edward C. Fleet, Sr. served as secretary. Other charter members included Tibbett Allen, S.H. Thompson, James Tunston, John Alexander, Robert E. Smith, and Abraham Penn.[240] With many of the same members, the Alexandria Lodge No. 58 used the Odd Fellows, Stevens Lodge No. 1435 for their meetings beginning in 1892 and did not build their own designated hall until 1994 at 2222 South Shirlington Road in Nauck. In 1888, the Grand Order of Odd Fellows, Hopewell Lodge No. 1700 was founded in Hall's Hill on land purchased from Bazil Hall. The Lodge participated in improving the neighborhood, including supporting the local schools. The Independent Order of Grand Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria, Wilson Lodge No. 196,

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[236] Rose, *Arlington County*, 127-129.
[237] Alvin J. Schmidt, *Fraternal Organizations* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1980), 107.
[238] Virginia, *Acts and Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia During the Session of 1883-84* (Richmond: R.U. Derr, Supt. of Public Print., 1884), 494-95.
[239] Arlington County, "A Guide to the African American Heritage of Arlington County, Virginia," (Arlington County, Va.: Department of Community Planning, Housing and Development, Historic Preservation Program, 2016).
[240] Papers of Edward C. Fleet, "Arlington Lodge #58: 127 Years of Faith, Hope, Charity," (Arlington County Library, Center for Local History).

also formed in this neighborhood.[241] Like the Odd Fellows, they provided insurance, assisted with burials, and supported widows and orphans.

Dismantling Freedman's Village

In 1883, Congress appropriated $150,000 to enable the Secretary of War to remove all private claims to the former Arlington House plantation. In 1888, the Quartermaster General observed that the Syphax family occupied 17 acres in the southern portion without a deed but determined they would be compensated.[242] By then, the population of Freedman's Village totaled 763, including 156 male adults, 156 female adults, 224 male minors, and 201 female minors. They comprised 170 families living in 124 houses. There were 140 voters and tax payers, 119 renters, and only one poor person, an orphan girl. The population included two justices of the peace, one constable, and two special policemen. The community also had three shops, two churches, and the school.[243] *The Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the First Session of the Fiftieth Congress 1887-'88* contains a list of every head of family, the value of their buildings and improvements, a key to an 1868 map, and the value of wells and trees and vines if they had them.

By 1900, Freedman's Village was dismantled as the government reclaimed the land and compensated the property owners. From contemporary accounts, "controversy surrounded the decision and process of reclaiming the land, and it was accomplished through a series of false accusations and evictions that in some cases carried strong racial overtones."[244] Although no structures remain at the site of the former Freedman's Village, the layout of its main streets is retained in the routes of Jessup, Clayton, and Grant Drives in sections of Arlington National Cemetery.[245] It is unlikely that residents were able to move any of the 124 houses, and is unknown if there are any known extant dwellings influenced by the Freedman's Village units. Another portion of the former Custis-Lee plantation remained agricultural for a period of about 40 years, because on April 10, 1901, Congress passed an act to transfer 400 acres from the War Department to the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA). This land served as the USDA's first experimental farm and provided jobs for black and white residents of the county evident in the list of African American's occupations in the census during its operation.

Fort Myer and Segregated Troops

While the Freedman's Village was dismantled, the portion of Arlington House estate that contained Fort Myer, officially renamed in 1881, continued to host significant black communities. In 1891, the African American Troop K, 9th Cavalry was transferred to Fort Myer in a historic event. "With the coming of the troops there will be for the first time on Virginia soil white and colored soldiers brought together in one garrison, for Troop B of the 4th Cavalry will remain some time longer at Fort Myer."[246] One of two black cavalry units established by Congress after the Civil War, the regiment initially drew from the hundreds of black soldiers who had fought for the Union.[247] They served in Texas and New Mexico and the Kansas and South Dakota Indian territories

[241] County, "Guide to the African American Heritage."
[242] States, *Executive Documents of the House 1887-'88*, 5-11.
[243] Lands, "Miscellaneous Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the District of Columbia, 1865-1869."
[244] Samuel A. Batzli, "Fort Myer, Virginia: Historic Landscape Inventory," (Champaign, Il.: U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, Construction Engineering Research Laboratories, 1998), 25.
[245] County, "Guide to the African American Heritage."
[246] "Fort Myer, Alexandria County," *The Roanoke Times*, March 8, 1891. This did not account for Colonial wars.
[247] Grote Hutchinson, "The Ninth Regiment of Cavalry," in *The Army of the United States : Historical Sketches of Staff and Line with Portraits of Generals-in-Chief*, ed. Theo F. Rodenbough and William L. Haskin (New York: Maynard, Merrill, & Co., 1896; reprint, 2015); Walter Hill, "Exploring the Life and History of the "Buffalo Soldiers"," *The Record [Newsletter of the National Archives and*

during the 1870s-1880s. Native Americans in the Great Plains nicknamed them Buffalo Soldiers because "of their dark curly hair, which resembled a buffalo's coat."[248] Upon arrival at Fort Myer on May 25, 1891, they were extolled as being "Indian fighters and as the least troublesome and most amenable to discipline of any men in the army."[249] However, the white soldiers of Troop B, 4th Cavalry were less than pleased about their new colleagues:

> The white men object to mounting guard with the blacks and lying down with them side by side in the guard bunk. Complaints are already buzzing about the ears of Secretary Proctor, who is presumably responsible for this state of things, but as he ordered the colored troops here it is not likely that he will order them away because the color of their skin is objectionable to the white soldiers.[250]

News accounts did not relate the outcome of the two cavalry troops working together at Fort Myer, but the following year upon Troop B, 4th Cavalry's departure, officials decided against bringing in an Indian troop to serve with the Buffalo Soldiers. Instead, "Troop F 7th cavalry, commanded by Captain Bell, will be rewarded for its services in the last Sioux campaign by assignment to the new set of quarters at Fort Myer," which suggests that Troop K, 9th Cavalry was housed in the fort's older barracks and had not been bunking with the white soldiers.[251]

After their October 1894 departure from Fort Myer, Troop K, 9th Cavalry, later saw duty in the 1898 Spanish-American War along with the 10th Cavalry and other black "Immune" troops from Virginia and around the South, so-called because many African Americans were immune to tropical diseases encountered during the war. Since 1872, Virginia had employed two black militia battalions and supplied the 6th Virginia Volunteer Infantry in response to President William McKinley's plea for more volunteers in May 1898, but racial discord prevented them from being sent beyond the states. In addition, the 10th U.S. Volunteer Infantry, "the first of Virginia's four black Immune companies, was organized in Alexandria during the first week in July… About two-thirds… were from Alexandria. Twenty of the remaining recruits came down from nearby Washington, where the regiment's first company had been organized a few days before."[252]

Suburbanization during the Jim Crow Era (1902-1940)

Black Codes and Disenfranchisement

With the repeal of the Reconstruction Act in 1877 and the lack of enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment protecting the right of African Americans to vote, southern Democrats, then the party of white supremacy, began to regain political control in the South, thereby ushering in the nadir of race relations in America for the next 50 years. Moreover, the personal prejudices against African Americans in the South began to be codified during this period. In 1881, Tennessee instituted the first segregation laws related to railroad services. Other

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Records Administration] 4, no. 4.

[248] Hutchinson, "The Ninth Regiment of Cavalry," 282-87; National Park Service, "Buffalo Soldiers," U.S. Department of the Interior, https://www.nps.gov/chyo/learn/historyculture/buffalo-soldiers.htm.

[249] "Will Not Amalgamate," *Alexandria Gazette*, June 1, 1891.

[250] Ibid.

[251] "Rejoicing at Fort Myer," *Alexandria Gazette*, March 14, 1892.

[252] Roger D. Cunningham, "'We Are an Orderly Body of Men': Virginia's Black "Immunes" in the Spanish-American War," *Historic Alexandria Quarterly*, no. Summer (2001).

Southern states followed suit over the next 15 years. Racial tension escalated in the South following an economic depression in the 1890s that caused many whites to see blacks as a threat to their jobs. Many Southern newspapers escalated these tensions by exaggerating or fabricating black crime. In 1896, the Supreme Court upheld racial segregation instituted by laws in individual states, known as "Black Codes" and "Jim Crow" laws, in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson. The Supreme Court decision recognized the "separate but equal" doctrine as rationalization for legal segregation. In Virginia, this "both confirmed the status quo and gave impetus to even more rigid segregation laws."[253]

In 1902, Virginia amended the state Constitution to require segregation in public facilities and accommodations, including schools, hospitals, libraries and public transportation—thereby codifying the de facto segregation that existed. More significant, however, was the establishment of poll taxes, literacy requirements, and other obstructions for voting that limited the ability of African Americans to represent themselves in local and state government. Many in the black community were challenged by the literacy requirement alone because they could not afford to have a child go to school rather than work, and in several jurisdictions throughout the state, schools were not provided for African Americans above the elementary level. It is estimated that the voting requirements of the 1902 Constitution disqualified approximately 90 percent of African Americans in Virginia from voting.[254]

In Alexandria County, the impact of the 1902 Virginia Constitution was evident in the absence of African Americans from political offices and a drastic decrease in the number of blacks eligible to vote. Although voting records do not indicate the race of the voter, a review of presidential election results in the 1870s and 1880s for Arlington County shows strong voter turnout, particularly in the predominantly black magisterial districts of Jefferson and Arlington, with consistent victories for the Republican candidates. State and local elections, where the race of the candidate was sometimes noted, followed the same trend. Although voter turnout in the county remained strong in the presidential elections, totaling 734 in 1888 and 826 in 1900, the votes were more evenly distributed between the two parties as the Democratic Party had reemerged as a political force after Reconstruction. In 1900, the county vote for president was almost dead even between the two parties with the Democrat Bryan earning 418 votes and Republican McKinley earning 408 votes. After the disenfranchisement of African American voters in Virginia under the 1902 Constitution, the total county votes in the 1904 presidential election dropped dramatically to only 256 votes with the Democratic candidate Bryan beating Roosevelt 157 to 99 votes.[255] A partial review of the county's voter registration records for 1902 for the precincts of Ballston, Carnes, and Four Mile Run reveal a wide discrepancy between the numbers of black and white voters registered to vote compared to the population for these areas. More significant on the local level, however, was the loss in 1903 by Henry L. Holmes in a close election for the Commissioner of the Revenue. Holmes, a well-respected leader of the African American community, had held the position for more than 27 years and was the longest-sitting elected official in the county at the time.

Expanding Neighborhoods and Industry

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[253] "The World of Jim Crow," *Civil Rights Movement in Virginia* (2004), http://www.vahistorical.org/collections-and-resources/virginia-history-explorer/civil-rights-movement-virginia/world-jim-crow.

[254] Brent Tarter, "African Americans and Politics in Virginia (1865–1902)," in *Encyclopedia Virginia* (Richmond: Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 2015).

[255] Frank O'Leary, "The Electoral History of That Part of Alexandria County of the District of Columbia Now Known as Arlington County, 1870-1920," (Arlington County Department of Elections, 2010).

The establishment of Arlington's streetcar lines in the 1890s marked the beginning of the transition from a rural county where farming was its primary occupation to a suburb where public transportation provided greater access to other types of employment. In 1892, the Washington & Arlington Railway began to provide streetcar service from the county to the District of Columbia. The Washington, Alexandria, and Mount Vernon Electric Railway began the same year with service between Alexandria and Mount Vernon. Beginning in 1894, this streetcar line extended to Washington, D.C. However, with service to the African American neighborhoods limited to stops at Nauck and Penrose on the Washington & Arlington Railway line, the streetcar had less impact on the development of black communities.[256] Unlike Prince George's County in Maryland, where African American neighborhoods developed along the streetcar lines to take advantage of their convenience, the settlement patterns in Arlington County was dictated more by the availability of land to African Americans than strategic development initiatives. The neighborhood of Hall's Hill in the northern section of the county, for example, relied on the independent Hicks Bus Line to provide access to the streetcars. As a mode of public transportation, the streetcars were subject to the Jim Crow laws of segregation once they crossed into Virginia, requiring a stop at the Key Bridge to rearrange the seating along racial lines before crossing the state line. Furthermore, the streetcar lines only connected the county to Washington, D.C. without any cross-routes within the county. The fact that very few African Americans owned their own automobiles during the first decades of the twentieth-century emphasized the isolation of the various black communities scattered across the county.

Home ownership was important to African Americans as a symbol of freedom and independence. By 1900, 59 percent of African Americans in the county owned their own home and, in spite of the increased difficulty of purchasing property, home ownership increased to 64 percent by 1920.[257] To accommodate the increase in home construction and ownership on the limited land available to African Americans, many of the original lots in the existing communities were subdivided. Racial segregation also necessitated that African Americans establish their own businesses as well as civic, social, and religious institutions. Unable to shop or dine in many of the white-owned stores, the black residents of the larger communities of Hall's Hill/High View Park, Green Valley/Nauck, Johnson's Hill/Arlington View, and Queen City/East Arlington expanded the business community that was founded during Reconstruction. Many residents, who provided services such as barbershops, beauty salons, and tailoring, operated out of their homes in order to minimize costs. The lack of transportation between the various black communities often limited the market for these businesses to the customers in the immediate neighborhood.

While the county remained primarily rural before the turn of the century, subdivisions allowed the population to more than double from 3,185 in 1870 to 6,501 in 1900 with 2,498 being African Americans. The white population increased more than the black population, making them fall from a statistical majority right after the war to a minority at 38 percent. Though overall farm output almost doubled from $97,024 in 1870 to $188,544 in 1900,[258] the percentage of African Americans working as farmers had decreased to 24 percent with the greatest number (45 percent) being listed as laborers and an additional 7 percent working as bricklayers. Employment in domestic service represented 24 percent of the workforce.[259] And although the number of farmhouses recorded in the census increased from 86 in 1870 to 378 in 1900, these were far outnumbered by a new designation of 879 "other houses," referring to those located in suburban communities such as Hall's

[256] Perry, "The Influence of Geography," 5.
[257] Ibid., 87.
[258] United States Census, 1870-1900.
[259] Perry, "The Influence of Geography," 78, 88.

Hill/High View Park, Johnson's Hill/Arlington View, Green Valley/Nauck, and Penrose.[260] By 1900, there were also other black settlements, including Pelham Town, Brown's Bend, Hatfield, Queen City, East Arlington, and South Washington and black sections in Jackson City, Cherrydale, Rosslyn, and Ballston,.[261] With 50 percent of the county's African Americans living in settlements of thirteen houses or less in 1900, many of these settlements were small enclaves of family members and did not develop as full communities with their own institutions and commercial establishments.[262]

Brickyards and other industries along the banks of the Potomac River provided an array of jobs outside of the black communities. Their presence and the conversion of the Aqueduct Bridge to a toll-free connection to the District, allowed Queen City, East Arlington, and Rosslyn to expand along the eastern edge of the county. A 1907 history of Alexandria County that mentioned "colored" people only once in a reference to voting, noted of growing industry:

> The county manufactures more brick than any county in the United States, being the home of the New Washington Brick Co.; the Hydraulic Press Brick Co.; Walker and Sons Brick Co.; West Bros. Brick Co.; the Potomac Brick Co.; the Virginia Brick Co.; the Rosslyn Brick Co., and the Jackson-Phillips Brick Co.
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> The county contains numerous factories and excellent stores convenient to every settlement. It has the Arlington National Bank, an institution gotten up by citizens of the county and is in a flourishing condition. It has the Arlington Brewery and Bottling Works, the most modern of all the breweries in or near Washington City. It has the Rosslyn Packing Co., the most prosperous establishment for the manufacture of pork products and provisions east of Chicago. In the county and within the corporate limits of Alexandria City are shoe factories and factories for the making of glassware, bottles, boxes, overalls, and wooden ware; knitting mills, canning factories, fertilizer factories, and many other large industries. The county contains numerous churches, all reached by the electric cars. There is not a trade, calling or profession that is not creditably represented by citizens of Alexandria County. No county in Virginia is so rich in numbers of skilled mechanics, representing the very highest skill in their respective trades. We have here in large numbers, and all employed, machinists, bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, iron workers, floor planers, plumbers, steamfitters, glassworkers, electricians, and woodworkers, men of character and intelligence in every branch of mechanics.[263]

A cross reference of the census shows a diverse workforce in each of these businesses.

Early Urban Renewal and Planning and Zoning

Following national trends, early land planning and zoning took root during the expansion of industry, neighborhoods, and transportation in the late nineteenth century. Spurred by the City Beautiful and Temperance

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[260] United States Census, 1870; Mary Louise Shafer, "Recreation in Arlington 1870-1920," *Arlington Historical Magazine* 6, no. 2 (1978).
[261] Perry, "The Influence of Geography," 5.
[262] Nancy Perry, Spencer Crew, and Nigel M. Waters, ""We Didn't Have Any Other Place to Live": Residential Patterns in Segregated Arlington County, Virginia," *Southeastern Geographer* 53, no. 4 (2013): 421.
[263] Alexandria County, *A Brief History of Alexandria County, Virginia: Its Wealth and Resources, Great and Growing Industries, Educational and Social Advantages* (Falls Church, Va.: Newell Print Co., 1907), 29-31.

movements, the county engaged in what can be described as early urban renewal efforts soon after the 1902 Virginia Constitution passed. Formed to combat crime in 1890, the Good Citizens League of Alexandria County under the direction of Commonwealth Attorney Crandall Mackey targeted interracial communities forming around industry and gambling establishments in areas such as Cherrydale, Jackson City, and Rosslyn. After raids in 1904, many of these areas were shut down and redeveloped.[264] In a 1911 election, Mackey was described as "unthinking machine that was willing to demolish anything or anybody in its way… the *Monitor* [a newspaper that endorsed his opponent] revealed the subtle racism at work in the politics of the era [and] castigated the political machine at the county courthouse as controlling the vote of 'the negro, the gambler, the saloon and those who eat crumbs that fall from the table of the mighty."[265]

In the midst of redevelopment of black residential and industrial neighborhoods, developers submitted 70 applications to subdivide remnants of farm land between 1900 and 1910.[266] Likely inspired by Good Roads Movement lobbyists, who included farmers, cyclists, and new car enthusiasts, the county began to make improvements to roads to keep pace with development. Wilson Boulevard was the first paved in 1909 and was followed by other major routes and smaller roads in white communities, but rarely were roads in black communities improved. Electricity, water, and sewer lines were introduced by private developers in the white subdivisions in the 1910s but did not become part of the public infrastructure until the 1920s and 1930s and did not extend to the black communities until the 1940s.[267] In tandem with infrastructure expansion, the Virginia General Assembly enacted enabling legislation that allowed cities and towns to segregate neighborhoods and districts through zoning ordinances and deed restrictions in 1912. Alexandria County formalized its first land-use policies and planning and zoning ordinances in 1914 and began requiring that subdivision plans be reviewed and approved by an engineer.[268]

At this time, two opposing grassroots organizations spread across the United States – the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) founded in 1909 and the white supremacist Klu Klux Klan founded in 1866 in the South and revived nationwide in 1915. Considered the first rural chapter in the United States, the Falls Church and Vicinity Branch of the NAACP was established in Fairfax County in 1915 by the Colored Citizens Protective League (CCPL) who first gathered to fight proposed Progressive Era discriminatory zoning throughout Northern Virginia, which would force out existing black landowners.[269] "Klaverns" of the KKK were organized in the District of Columbia, Fairfax County, and Ballston and operated not in the shadows but at county fairs, political gatherings, and other public venues to lobby against the advancement of African Americans and their causes.[270]

Segregated Civilians and Servicemen

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[264] Shafer, "Recreation in Arlington 1870-1920," 62-67.
[265] Michael L. Pope, *Shotgun Justice: One Prosecutor's Crusade against Crime and Corruption in Alexandria & Arlington* (Charleston, S.C.: The History Press, 2012).
[266] Shafer, "Recreation in Arlington 1870-1920," 55.
[267] Rose, *Arlington County*, 140.
[268] Rose, *Arlington County*, 222.
[269] E.B. Henderson and Edith Hussey, "History of the Fairfax County Branch of the Naacp," (1965); Andrew Friedman, *Covert Capital: Landscapes of Denial and the Making of U.S. Empire in the Suburbs of Northern Virginia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 43.
[270] John Kneebone, "Mapping the Second Ku Klux Klan, 1915-1940," Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries, https://labs.library.vcu.edu/klan/.

Continuing in its legacy, the former grounds of Arlington House provided a variety of unique opportunities and events at Fort Myer and the Arlington National Cemetery for African Americans in Alexandria County. In the period after the Buffalo Soldiers of the 9th Cavalry left Fort Myer, the Army began major improvements on the Upper Post while creating a separate cantonment known as the Lower Post for the Signal Corps at the former site of Fort Whipple. The post did not house black troops again until 1931, but employed blacks throughout peacetime and World War I. Roger Graves Thurston, who was originally from Louisa, Virginia, served in the 9th Cavalry in Cuba and the Philippines and served in the Quarter Masters Corps before becoming a blacksmith at the fort in 1912. He lived with his wife Carrie L. Jones originally of Mt. Hope, West Virginia and their two young children in Rosslyn.[271]

When war erupted in Europe in August 1914, most Americans, African Americans included, saw no reason for the United States to become involved, however, training for war was soon underway amongst segregated troops. The black press sided with France, because of its purported commitment to racial equality, and chronicled the exploits of colonial African soldiers serving in the French army."[272] The U.S. did eventually enter in April 1917 and nearly all men ages 18 to 45 in the U.S. registered for the draft. Around 400,000 black troops ultimately served in the four segregated regiments born out of the Civil War, the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry. Five of formerly enslaved Jim Park's sons served.[273] It is difficult to determine how many African American men who were born in Alexandria County served as many records were destroyed from this era and most local histories focus on a select group of white veterans. Available databases are limited in searching by race because of the varied terminology. Two "colored" men who did appear on a search of enlisted men were George Ellsworth Ward and John Henry Cephas, both born in Arlington and living in Baltimore during the war.[274]

While located in a segregated section, the burial of important African American figures at Arlington National Cemetery served as inspiration to local school children in these particularly contentious years whether the deceased came from Arlington or not. For the funeral of Colonel Charles Young, a writer, musician, civil rights activists, and the highest-ranking African American officer in the U.S. Army until 1917, thousands of black citizens from the region including children excused from the black schools watched the procession of his funeral from D.C. to Arlington.[275]

African American veterans returned home with a new sense of confidence and set of skills for battling inequality on the home front. The national NAACP membership jumped from 9,000 in prewar years to 100,000 with the establishment of a large number of branches in the American South, though Arlington would not see one until 1940 perhaps due to its proximity to chapters in D.C., Alexandria, and Falls Church. More African Americans left the South for job opportunities in urban centers like Washington, D.C. in what became known as the Great Migration. With a growing sense of fear and resentment of black progress, whites targeted returning veterans in hate crimes and lynchings, and despite their service, many veterans were denied medical care.[276] In

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[271] Frank Lincoln Mather, *Who's Who of the Colored Race: A General Biographical Dictionary of Men and Women of African Descent*, vol. 1 (Chicago: s.n., 1915), 264.

[272] Chad Williams, "African Americans and World War I," *Africana Age* (2011), http://exhibitions.nypl.org/africanaage/essay-world-war-i.html.

[273] "U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918 [Database on-Line]," (Provo, Ut.: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2005).

[274] "Maryland Military Men, 1917-1918 [Database on-Line]," (Provo, Ut.: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2000).

[275] David P. Kilroy, *For Race and Country: The Life and Career of Colonel Charles Young* (Westport, Ct.: Praeger, 2003), ix.

[276] Equal Justice Initiative, "Lynching in America: Targeting Black Veterans," (2016), http://eji.org/reports/online/lynching-in-america-targeting-black-veterans.

1919, white supremacists ignited a series of violent anti-black riots in numerous cities across the country, including Washington, D.C. The events became known as Red Summer due to the bloodshed.[277]

After World War I, Fort Myer continued to supply employment for African Americans and only house white troops under the command of George S. Patton. As volatile race relations ebbed during the Great Depression, the Machine Gun Troop of the African American 10th Cavalry occupied Building 305 constructed in 1900 on the Lower Post and used 306 and 307 or 312 as stables from October 1931 to 1949. During peacetime, they "cared for the horses of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, who rode at Fort Myer almost daily."[278] In the 1930s, as Americans struggled to find work following the Depression, the Roosevelt Administration funded large infrastructure projects through the Public Works Administration and other government initiatives for economic recovery, including large and small projects in Arlington County.

White Flight from and Black Migration to the District of Columbia

The population of Alexandria County grew tremendously despite the Great Depression as the once-rural county rapidly transformed into a commuter suburb of Washington, D.C. In 1920, Alexandria County changed its name to Arlington County to avoid confusion with the city. Around this time, the post-World War I riots and Great Migration of African Americans from the South into U.S.'s cities spurred the early stages of white flight from urban centers into the suburbs. In step with this trend, mobile, mostly white residents, began leaving after the riots in search of more land, deed restrictions, and exclusionary zoning and found Arlington, which became ever more accessible by streetcar and more paved roads.[279] Conversely, black residents of Arlington subject to confined neighborhoods and a disparity in education and job opportunities took part in the migration North. Washington, D.C., with Howard University and more available real estate, had become an aspirational destination for black intelligentsia and entrepreneurs much like Atlanta and Harlem during the African American Renaissance in the 1920s.

As the county population jumped by more than 50 percent each decade between 1900 and 1930, the total number of African American residents remained constant at approximately 2,500.[280] When the county population exploded by 122 percent between 1930 and 1940, the total number of African American residents increased for the first time in the twentieth century from 3,338 to 5,040, comprising 9 percent of the population comparable to the national average of 10 percent. The overall dramatic growth of this decade was associated primarily with expansion of the federal government between World War I and World War II. While the African American population in Virginia declined from 38 percent in 1900 to 25 percent in 1940 and Arlington's from 38 to 9 percent in the same timeframe, the African American population in Washington D.C. had steadily climbed to 38 percent of the population in 1940.[281] Despite or perhaps because of the exodus, oral interviews with residents of the black communities seem to indicate that their neighborhoods remained stable with most of

[277] Otto Kerner, *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, 1968), 222.
[278] Batzli, "Fort Myer, Virginia: Historic Landscape Inventory," 45-46.
[279] Kerner, *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, 222.
[280] Mary Louise Shafer, "Arlington County, Virginia in Transition: 1870-1920" (Manhattansville College, 1967).
[281] Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, "Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1790 to 1990, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States," in *U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division Working Paper No. 56* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2002).

the residents living there for several generations, making the African American neighborhoods some of the oldest and most historic communities in the county by the mid-twentieth century.[282]

Employment trends in Arlington County leading up to World War II were both typical in suburban development and unique to the county due to its proximity to Washington, D.C. The decline in the number of farms from 137 in 1890 to 51 in 1930 was not unusual following the Industrial Revolution. The percentage of African Americans working on farms in the county decreased from 24 percent in 1900 to 1 percent in 1940. Meanwhile, the percentage of African Americans working in the brickyards increased slightly from 7 percent in 1900 to 10 percent in 1940. The general term of "laborer" described 45 percent of the African American workforce in 1900 before declining to 30 percent in 1940. The two most dissimilar employment classifications of domestic service and civil service each increased during the first four decades – domestic service from 24 percent of the African American workforce in 1900 to 48 percent in 1940 and civil service from 0 percent to 12 percent during the same period.[283] While the civil service jobs provided stable employment to African Americans, they were not necessarily an advancement as the vast majority of the positions for African Americans (90 percent in 1938) were custodial.[284]

Urban Renewal during the Civil Rights Movement (1940-1973)

Eminent Domain and the Integration of the Military

The U.S. officially entered World War II, ongoing since 1939, on December 8, 1941 following an attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The U.S. War Department (present-day Department of Defense) under President Roosevelt took a number of pre-emptive steps in response to the global conflict, including the creation of the first peacetime selective service draft. From November 1940 to October 1946, more than 50 million men aged 18 to 45 signed up for the draft. In addition, there was a registration for men over 45. Thousands of African Americans from Arlington registered. Ultimately, only a portion contributed to the war effort as they were still discriminated against. An unscientific sampling of draft cards reveals that in addition to being born in Arlington, black residents throughout the county came from the North, South, and Midwest of the United States and worked in a wide range of jobs from the government to local contracting firms to the service industry, such as golf clubs and restaurants.[285] Initially, African Americans could only serve in segregated units and could not rise in ranks to officer in the Navy and the Coast Guard. They were not allowed to join Marine Corps or the Army Air Corps; however, the sheer magnitude of War World II and activism within the black armed forces community would eliminate many of these barriers by its end.[286]

Along with establishing the draft, the War Department began to scout out potential locations for new headquarters. The site of the USDA Experimental Farm was deemed too closed to Arlington National Cemetery and was somewhat awkwardly shaped. Ultimately, the government purchased 34 acres through eminent domain without input from three historically black neighborhoods in 1941.[287] The land required for the $86-million, 3.7-million-square-foot facility and its associated road network displaced more than 220 families in the two neighborhoods of Queen City and East Arlington as well as a portion of Johnson's Hill/Arlington View. The

[282] Stanford, *Suburban Black Elderly*.
[283] Perry, "The Influence of Geography," 88. The author notes that the 1950 census no longer lists "farmer" as an occupation.
[284] Ibid., 90.
[285] "U.S. Wwii (1941-1945) Military Records [Database on-Line]," (Provo, Ut.: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2017).
[286] Smith and Zeidler, "A Historic Context for the African American Military Experience," 187-88.
[287] Arlington County Deed Book 575, 370-371.

federal project also destroyed several brickyards, including the West Bros., a concrete plant, an oil refinery, and a coal yard where many residents worked and two early African American churches, Mount Olive Baptist Church, which had constructed a new sanctuary in 1939, and Mount Zion Baptist Church, which was located on the same site in Johnson's Hill/Arlington View since leaving Freedman's Village c. 1880.

By 1940, over 40 percent of the Arlington County's population worked in government jobs at the local, state, or federal level, yet approximately 50 percent of blacks remained employed in domestic service with the few professionals listed as ministers, teachers, and doctors.[288] Between 1940 and 1941, nearly 60,000 new federal jobs were created in the region, and President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, which forbade racial discrimination in hiring for the domestic war industry, yet African Americans were often assigned to lower level jobs either because of their previous experience on farms, in brickyards, or other manual-labor jobs or their lack of access to an advanced education. A smaller portion of the black population who managed to acquire a degree and overcome discrimination joined the federal workforce, but by 1942, less than three percent of war workers were African American.[289] On January 15, 1943, the Pentagon was completed with office space for 30,000 defense workers and separate cafeterias and bathrooms for white and black employees; however, because of Executive Order 8802, the facility became the only officially non-segregated building in Virginia despite protests from state authorities.[290]

As World War II came to a close and the United States entered the Cold War era as the defender of democracy against communism, Washington D.C. committed to ending segregation on the federal level. A 1947 government report called for "the elimination of segregation in American life," President Harry Truman issued Executive Order No. 9981 in 1948, establishing "that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin," thereby fully integrating all military offices in the region and Arlington National Cemetery; however, the rest of the state and country for the most part had two more decades to go.[291]

Adequate and Affordable Housing

While the African American population in Arlington County equaled 8.8 percent in 1940, only 370 (3 percent) of the 10,445 total federal housing units in 1944 were available to blacks and only 100 of these units classified as permanent.[292] New federal employees moving to Arlington caused the county's population to nearly double between 1940 and 1943.[293] The construction of the Pentagon indirectly affected surrounding African American neighborhoods at a time when Arlington County was experiencing a severe housing shortage. Even though the government paid the residents of Queen City, East Arlington, and Johnson's Hill/Arlington View, the residents displaced by the Pentagon were limited to relocate in other existing black communities, which were already overcrowded.[294] In the year 1942 alone, the county's housing registry received 6,300 applications for housing with only 650 units available. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) responded by financing a number of

[288] EHT Traceries, "First Phase of an Architectural Survey in Arlington County, Virginia," (Prepared for the Virginia Department of Historic Resources and Arlington County Department of Community Planning, Housing and Development, 1996).
[289] Perry, "The Influence of Geography," 75-79.
[290] Jeffrey A. Dagley, "The Paul Dunbar Homes: A Legacy of Community Housing in Arlington, Virginia" (George Washington University, 2010), 3.
[291] Cemetery, "Black History at Arlington National Cemetery".
[292] County, "Guide to the African American Heritage," 54.
[293] Perry, "The Influence of Geography," 65.
[294] Ibid., 64; Rose, *Arlington County*, 13.

emergency wartime housing projects in Washington, D.C. and the surrounding suburbs, including temporary trailer parks in Nauck and Arlington View and the permanent George Washington Carver Homes in Arlington View in 1944. The eight-building complex, which provided 44 new units, was designed by noted African American architect Albert Irvin Cassell at a cost of $220,200. Cassell also designed the FHA-funded Paul Dunbar Homes (demolished 2006), and Fort Barnard Heights and Fort Henry Gardens were constructed in 1944 in the Nauck community to provide affordable housing. These projects, however, were not enough to address the housing shortage for blacks. [295]

First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt toured the trailer parks in 1944 as part of her mission to address the need for adequate and affordable housing for blacks and deemed the housing inadequate, thus the trailer parks were closed soon after her visit. Following the war, Congress directed the FHA to dispose of wartime housing. The residents of the George Washington Carver Homes (demolished 2016) pooled their finances and established the George Washington Carver Mutual Homes Association to purchase the property for $123,000. It and the Paul Dunbar Mutual Homes Association in Nauck were the first two African American residential cooperatives in the country.[296]

In addition to the FHA-funded projects, William T. and Margarite R. Syphax, descendants of Arlington House enslaved laborers, founded W.T. Syphax Real Estate Inc. and the W.T. Syphax Engineering and Construction Company to build affordable homes and apartment buildings. Margarite Syphax explained that their expansive construction and real estate business began by helping an elderly neighbor improve her rental properties to meet the county's 1940s code requirements. The neighbor had a number of properties that were deemed substandard and required, at a minimum, indoor plumbing. After the Syphaxes helped her replace the houses on her properties, others approached them to build new houses. Mrs. Syphax estimated that they built approximately 110 houses, in addition to several apartment buildings, over the years.[297]

The End of the Agrarian and Industrial Eras

Between 1940 and 1950, the county's population increased by a record 155 percent, surpassing the 122 percent of the previous decade and making it the fastest-growing county in the nation. The African American population, by contrast, increased only slightly from 5,040 in 1940 to 6,517 in 1950 and decreased in total percentage from 9 percent in 1940 to 5 percent in 1950 as it had throughout the twentieth century. The county's growth would slow to a more normal pace over the following two decades, increasing by 24 percent between 1950 and 1960 and only 5 percent by 1970 with the percentage of African Americans remaining steady at 5-to-6 percent. In contrast, the African American population in Washington D.C. in 1970 was 71 percent.[298] The employment statistics for the same period reflected a similar pattern in which the growth in civil service jobs provided more employment to whites than blacks. In 1950, 77 percent of the white workforce was employed as professionals, managers, sales people, or clerical work. The most prevalent job categories for African Americans were laborer (19 percent), service (17 percent), and clerical (15 percent). Beginning with the 1950 census, "farmer" and "bricklayer," which were the most common terms used for African American employment at the turn-of-the-twentieth century, were no longer listed as occupations.

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[295] "Housing Cooperatives in the United States, 1949-1950," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics & Housing and Home Finance Agency, Housing Research Division, 1951).
[296] Perry, "The Influence of Geography," 60-61.
[297] Margarite Syphax, interview by Cas Cocklin and Edmund Campbell, 1989.
[298] Perry, "The Influence of Geography," 8.

Though the agrarian society based in slavery came to an end and the industrial revolution steeped in segregation waned, African Americans remained in limbo as they were banned from going to white-owned restaurants, shops, and theaters and working in many private businesses. In the department stores, they were not allowed to try on clothing or to sit at lunch counters. There were exceptions such as Beenie Weenie, a white-owned establishment that employed and served black. The new Arlington Hospital, which opened in 1944 (just prior to the pivotal healthcare Hill-Burton Act), employed four black doctors; however, the services provided to black patients were limited and segregated. African American women were not allowed to give birth at the hospital. In response to this particular discrimination, Ralph Collins started the Friendly Cab Company in 1947 to provide expectant mothers and others who were refused treatment transportation to more accommodating hospitals in Alexandria, Washington, D.C., or Baltimore.[299] In Nauck, Roland Bruner, an African American obstetrician, provided services from his in-house clinic for patients not requiring emergency care, and Leonard Muse (1923-2017), a 1948 Howard University graduate also known as Doc Muse, opened a Green Valley Pharmacy in Nauck in 1952 where African Americans did not have to go to an alley to pick up their prescriptions. Only about 60 other African Americans in the U.S. had a pharmacy degree.[300]

Home ownership for blacks continued to be a difficult proposition. In spite of the 1948 Supreme Court decision in *Shelley v. Kramer* that made restrictive covenants illegal, developers and localities continued to include language in deeds and covenants that prohibited the sale of property "to any person or persons of a race other than the Caucasian race."[301] This form of discrimination perpetuated crowded conditions in Arlington County. In 1958, Rock Creek United Church of Christ organized the Arlington Council on Human Relations to address racial discrimination. The group conducted a survey of accommodations of all types throughout the county – including playgrounds, bowling alleys, restaurants, movie theaters, and hotels – to determine what types of restrictions were in place and attempt to address them. Their report "The Negro Citizen in Arlington County" observed that while African Americans enjoyed many liberties, there were definite limitations that caused uncertainty in their lives.[302]

A number of white and black faith organizations, including Baptist, Catholic, Episcopalian, Jewish, Lutheran, Methodist, and Unitarian churches led the way to integration, holding organizational meetings for various activist groups, joint worship services, camps and bible schools, and underground school board meetings. Our Lady Queen of Peace Catholic Church, established in 1945 in the Nauck community, quietly negotiated for two of its parishioners to attend the local white parochial school, as the church did not have its own. The church also integrated its youth basketball league during the 1950s. By 1963, Our Lady Queen of Peace Catholic Church was fully integrated, as it became a territorial parish, in which all members within its boundaries attended the church regardless of race. The Unitarian Universalist Church of Arlington (VLR 2014, NRHP 2014) operated an integrated summer camp beginning in 1949 and served as a regular activist meeting place (the building that stands today post-dates that period and was designed by master architect Charles Goodman in 1964).

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[299] Phillip Jackson, "Meeting the Community's Needs: Arlington's Friendly Cab Company," *Boundary Stones* (July 23, 2014).
[300] "Leonard Muse (1923–)," *Strong Men & Women in Virginia History* (2017), https://www.lva.virginia.gov/public/smw/2017/honoree.htm?bio=muse.
[301] "Flower Gardens Property Covenant (Excerpt)," *RG 153, Records of the Office of Davis & Ruffner, Project DAPS* (1942), http://projectdaps.org/items/show/711.
[302] Arlington Council on Human Relations, "Broadside: The Negro Citizen in Arlington Published by American Council on Human Relations," *RG 123, Records of the Rock Spring Congregational United Church of Christ [UCC], Project DAPS* (n.d.), http://projectdaps.org/items/show/134.

Grassroots Activism and Integration of Arlington Schools

Prior to the late 1930s when the Hoffman-Boston School expanded to include high school grades, African Americans in Arlington County seeking a high school education had to travel to Washington, D.C., at their own expense. The children of federal government employees were allowed to attend the District of Columbia public schools while others attended the Armstrong Technical High School or Cardozo's Business High School to gain the skills needed for office work.[303] The county finally expanded Hoffmann-Boston School from the 1914 four-room schoolhouse designed by Frank Upman to a two-story, brick educational building by R. V. Long in 1931. Long, the state architect for Virginia's public schools and proponent of school consolidation, worked in close contact with contractor C. M. Buchanan between June 1931 to the Spring of 1932.

The Arlington County branch of the NAACP was established in 1940 for the purpose of "eliminating racial prejudice and taking all legal action to eradicate racial discrimination." African American advancement during World War II and a heightened intolerance of bigotry was evident in the dramatic increase in membership in the NAACP from 18,000 before World War II to nearly 500,000 after the war, a total that included whites as well as blacks.[304] This growing intolerance and increased activism among African Americans following World War II marked the beginning of the modern Civil Rights Movement. Esther Georgia Cooper served as the local chapter's first president during this period of mobilization from 1940 to 1951. Born in Ohio to formerly-enslaved parents, Cooper worked in Louisville, Kentucky, before coming to the District of Columbia where she worked for the USDA Forest Service. She served on the Kemper School Parent-Teacher Association, lobbied to establish an accredited junior high school, and provided NAACP support for the 1949 court case *Constance Carter v the School Board of Arlington County, VA* challenging inequalities in the county's high school facilities."[305] Cooper also worked on behalf of the NAACP to increase voter registration among African American residents in the county, and routinely wrote letters protesting the Jim Crow practices of segregated seating on public transportation. Subsequent presidents included the Reverend James D. Browne (1954), Thomas R. Monroe (1955-1956), William A. Minor (1957-1958), Carl Ferguson (1959), the Rev. Chester R. Murray (1961-1964), the Rev. Ron Williams (1965), and William Cassell (1966).

As the NAACP grew in strength and numbers across the country, it focused its fight for equality in education as an issue that affected all African Americans. This fight initially took place in the courtrooms rather than the classrooms and sought equality rather than integration. In 1938, the greater NAACP won two important cases. The US Supreme Court, in *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* struck down the provision that allowed southern states to pay for black students to attend colleges and universities in the North rather than provide an equal degree program in their own state. The second case, *Alston v. School Board of the City of Norfolk*, gained increased, though not equal, pay for African American teachers.[306]

Esther Cooper focused her efforts as local NAACP president upon improved schools in Arlington County. She pointed out to the School Board that as many as one-third of the black students of high school age were either attending school in the District of Columbia, where facilities were far superior, or they were not attending school at all. She urged parents of students to write letters requesting that improvements be made to Hoffman-

[303] Perry, "The Influence of Geography," 86-87.
[304] "Turning Point: World War Ii," *Civil Rights Movement in Virginia* (2004), http://www.vahistorical.org/collections-and-resources/virginia-history-explorer/civil-rights-movement-virginia/turning-point.
[305] Esther Cooper, "Letter from Butler-Holmes Citizens Association to the Arlington School Board, 3/18/1947," *RG 18, Personal Papers of Barbara Marx, Project DAPS* (1947), http://projectdaps.org/items/show/513.
[306] "The Civil Rights Movement Court Cases," http://studythepast.com/civilrights/cases.htm#top.

Boston High School. Cooper made detailed inventories of the disparities between the white and black schools, including the number of classrooms, music rooms, shop facilities, teaching equipment and materials, and salaries.[307]

After World War II, Cooper was joined in her appeals to the School Board by white parents who were also frustrated with the condition of the county's schools. The county had not been prepared for the tremendous growth in population associated with the war effort and increased federal workforce. As a result, schools for white students were also deemed inadequate by their parents. The Citizens Committee for School Improvement (CCSI) formed in 1946 to advocate for increased budgets for the schools and improved facilities. Frustrated with the school board members, who refused to increase the budget and address the issues, the CCSI successfully petitioned the General Assembly to allow county residents to elect their own school board rather than defer to appointments made by an electoral board. In 1947, Arlington County became the only county in Virginia allowed by the General Assembly to elect its own school board.[308]

For many years, Arlington County avoided making improvements to the Hoffman-Boston High School by approving requests from students to pay the required tuition to attend high school in Washington, D.C. Faced with the budget demands of an increased school population since World War II, the county discontinued this policy beginning with the 1948-1949 school year, and the District of Columbia stopped accepting transfer students from Arlington the following year. As a result, Constance Carter, an African American student, attempted to enroll in the all-white Washington-Lee High School in order to take classes that were not offered at Hoffman-Boston High School. After being denied enrollment due to Virginia's laws regarding segregation of public facilities, Carter filed suit against the county with the support of Esther Cooper and the local NAACP chapter. NAACP attorneys Spottswood Robinson III and Oliver Hill argued in the case *Carter v. School Board of Arlington County* that Hoffman-Boston was not an equal facility if it did not offer the same classes. The court ruled against the plaintiff, explaining that the two schools treated their students equally and that any disparity was not intentional or based on race. Upon appeal, the 4th District Court of Appeals ruled that the county's separate high schools constituted unlawful racial discrimination.[309]

Many local school boards, including Arlington County, attempted to strengthen the "separate but equal" justification for segregated schools by improving existing facilities or constructing new schools for African Americans. These schools were dubbed "equalization schools" and represented a last-ditch effort to prove that public education facilities could be both separate and equal.[310] Arlington County received federal assistance in 1945 to build the one-story, eight-room addition known as the Kemper Annex. Within six years, the expanded school had exceeded capacity again with an enrollment of 349 in 1951, thus necessitating kindergarten and first-grade students to attend school in shifts. In 1951, a $270,000 wing was added to the Kemper Annex to include a multi-purpose room and three additional classrooms.[311] The new school was renamed Drew Elementary School

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[307] "Letter from Butler-Holmes Citizens Association to the Arlington School Board, 3/18/1947".

[308] B. Alden Lillywhite et al., "The Citizens Fight for Better Schools in Arlington, Virginia Prepared for the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools," *RG 07, Arlington County Public Schools, 1909-2004, Project DAPS* (n.d.), http://www.projectdaps.org/items/show/861.

[309] Martin A. Soper, "Constance Carter V. The School Board of Arlington County, Virginia: Complaint and Opinion, 1950," *Daniel Ellis Byrd papers, 1940-1984, Amistad Research Center, Project DAPS* (1947), http://projectdaps.org/items/show/109.

[310] Jarl K. Jackson and Julie Vosmik, "Robert Russa Moton High School, National Register of Historic Places Nomination " (Richmond: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1995), 8: 11.

[311] Kate Birmingham, "The Nauck Community: Pre-World War Ii History, Utilities Development, and Schools" (George Washington University, 2010), 8-9.

in 1953 in honor of Dr. Charles R. Drew. Improvements were also made to the Hoffman-Boston School in the 1950s. A new elementary school was built on the site in 1951 and additions were made to the High School in 1953. The high school additions cost $564,988 and included a cafeteria, gymnasium, vocational/shop building, and additional offices - making these amenities available to black students in the county for the first time.[312]

The NAACP strategy shifted in May 1951 when attorney Spottswood Robinson filed the suit *Davis v. Prince Edward County School Board* in which he argued that integration of the school system was necessary to achieve equality in education. On May 7, 1952, the court upheld the constitutionality of the "separate but equal" justification for segregated schools; however, it did order that the schools for blacks be made physically equal to those for whites. After the lower court ruled in favor of Prince Edward County, Robinson and Hill appealed the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Virginia case *Davis v. Prince Edward County School Board* was combined with cases from four other states as *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* and filed in the U.S. Supreme Court in 1952. The Supreme Court eventually ruled in May 1954 that segregated schools were unconstitutional based on the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The unanimous opinion, read by Chief Justice Warren, stated "We conclude unanimously that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."[313] While the Supreme Court decision was clear that public schools could no longer be segregated, they were not clear on how this would be accomplished. The justices requested additional information from both the plaintiffs and the defendants on how to implement their decision. Before the 1954 US Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, which ruled separate schools were inherently not equal, Arlington was willing to integrate its schools. This particularly appealed to the county as a cost-saving measure because of the expense of providing separate facilities. The General Assembly, however, threatened to revoke the county's right to elect its own school board if it moved forward with school integration. In May 1955, the Supreme Court issued its directive in Brown II that ordered public schools to be integrated "with all deliberate speed." However, the court left the specifics of implementation plans up to the localities and federal district courts.

Virginia responded to the Supreme Court decision with a counter-campaign whereby state officials passed legislation continuing to support segregation and decisions on court cases were avoided by repeated delays in the system. Conservative U.S. Senator Harry F. Byrd, who controlled the dominant statewide Democratic Party from the 1920s through the early 1960s with his "Byrd Machine," led the efforts to prevent integration. Byrd was joined in his segregationist position by Virginia Governor James Lindsay Almond, Jr., who stated "We will oppose…with every facility at our command, and with every ounce of our energy, the attempt being made to mix the white and Negro races in our classrooms. Let there be no misunderstanding, no weasel words, on this point: we dedicate our every capacity to preserve segregation in the schools."[314] Under this conservative leadership, a variety of legislative manipulations – including the provision of public transportation and grant funds for private schools, creation of a Pupil Placement Board empowered to assign students to specific schools, elimination of state funding for and closure of any school that attempted to integrate, and the repeal of the state attendance laws to allow for local attendance requirements – were passed by the General Assembly between 1955 and 1958 to support segregated schools. This set of laws collectively became known as "Massive Resistance." Meanwhile, the federal district courts, tasked by the Supreme Court to work with the states and localities to develop implementation plans for integration "with all deliberate speed," were, instead, deliberately

[312] County, "Guide to the African American Heritage," 61.
[313] John Kern and Lena Sweeten McDonald, "First Baptist Church National Register of Historic Places," (Roanoke/Richmond: Independent Historian/Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2013), 8: 13.
[314] Robert A. Pratt, *The Color of Their Skin: Education and Race in Richmond, Virginia, 1954-89* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993), 9.

slow and cautious. Judge Hutcheson, of the Federal Fourth District Court in Richmond, repeatedly refused to set a deadline for localities in Virginia to implement integration. After he recommended that the localities have until 1965 to fully integrate their schools, the Supreme Court directed Hutcheson in 1959 to oversee the immediate integration of schools in Virginia.

Arlington County responded to Massive Resistance legislation by appointing a Committee to study the problems in integration and make recommendations for implementing integration in the school system. The committee gathered comparative statistics on school facilities including the number of students, the number of teachers, and their compensation. It was noted that the county had recently increased the salaries of African American teachers to the same rate as the white teachers. The committee reported that during the 1953-1954 school term there were five schools for 1,165 African American students, compared to 39 schools for 19,350 white students. African Americans totaled 6 percent of the school population.[315] It was clear that the cost of providing separate facilities for such a small percent of the school population was a burden on a school system that was trying to adjust for its dramatic increase in overall population. The Arlington County School Board approved a plan to implement integration in June 1955 but was forced to delay the plan because of Massive Resistance legislation that would allow the General Assembly to close the county's schools if they moved forward with integration.[316]

The NAACP responded to the policy of Massive Resistance in Virginia by filing lawsuits in Norfolk, Charlottesville, Front Royal, and Arlington County to integrate schools through the Pupil Placement Program. Arlington County was an obvious choice to include in the case, as its school board had already committed to a school integration plan. The Arlington case represented 22 students whose applications for placement in white schools were denied.[317] Subsequent court cases and appeals by the NAACP were repeatedly thwarted by Massive Resistance laws passed by the General Assembly.

The progressive attitudes of Arlington County's residents were well known as they regularly wrote to *Washington Post* columnist Benjamin Muse. Muse, who reported on affairs in Virginia and was a critic of the Massive Resistance strategy, had applauded the formation of the Virginia Committee to Preserve Public Schools in May 1958 to monitor the court case. Glenn Stahl, a former board member and president of the committee, reported that the committee had approximately 3,300 members – including parents, religious leaders, citizens, and civic organizations - and that their "concern is neither with integration or segregation. Our concern is to preserve our free public schools."[318] The committee had met with Governor Almond to plead their case without success. As Muse noted in his column, "the idea of depriving 20,000 white students of public schooling to prevent the enrollment of 7 black students was tragic nonsense" to many of Arlington's residents.[319]

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[315] Arlington County Public Schools Department of Research, "Arlington County Public Schools Department of Research June 21, 1954 Distribution of Negro Pupils, 1953-54, by District and by 1954-55 Grade," *RG 07, Arlington County Public Schools, 1909-2004, Project DAPS* (1954), http://www.projectdaps.org/items/show/818.

[316] "Plan for Integration of Arlington Public Schools, June 1, 1955," ibid. (1955), http://projectdaps.org/items/show/513.

[317] U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, "Court Case, Clarissa S. Thompson, Et Al. V. County School Board of Arlington County, Virginia, Et Al, Civil 1341," *RG 18, Personal Papers of Barbara Marx, Project DAPS* (1958), http://projectdaps.org/exhibits/show/daps_exhibit/item/718.

[318] Committee to Preserve the Public Schools, "Immediate Release August 20, 1958 Statement of the Arlington Committee to Preserve Public Schools before the Arlington County School Board," *RG 07, Arlington County Public Schools, 1909-2004, Project DAPS* (1958), http://www.projectdaps.org/items/show/844.

[319] Matthew D. Lassiter, "A 'Fighting Moderate': Benjamin Muse's Search for the Submerged South," in *The Moderates' Dilemma:*

Finally, federal court Judge Albert V. Bryan ruled in September 1958 that four well-qualified, African American students be allowed to attend Stratford Junior High School (VLR 2003, NRHP 2004, Local District 2016) in February 1959 when the next semester would start. The Virginia Committee for the Preservation of Our Public Schools formed in the fall of 1958 with chapters in Arlington, Charlottesville, Richmond, and Front Royal to ensure that the state did not close its public schools if they attempted to integrate them. Locally, the committee worked to ensure the smooth integration of the schools. This committee worked with the four students to orient them to the new school and prepare them for the uncertainties of integration. White teachers from Stratford Jr. High School tutored the students to prepare them for the classwork. Parents of Stratford students included the four black students in parties so they could make friends ahead of time.[320] The Arlington Civic Federation, which represented 37 civic associations and 26 of the 39 Parent Teacher Associations, publicly supported the ruling.[321] The Social Action Committee of Rock Spring United Church of Christ published a report on its study of the successful integration of schools in nearby Montgomery County, Maryland to alleviate fears and concerns Arlingtonians may have about the uncertainties of integration.[322] In spite of such support, local segregationists attempted to intimidate the students and their families by making threatening phone calls and burning crosses on the lawns of two of the male students.[323] The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties sent a letter to the families of every Stratford Junior High School student urging them to boycott school, stating that:

> "You and your family have been placed on a great battlefield…. perhaps the greatest one our nation has ever faced… Would you not be willing to sacrifice a few weeks of your education while the great statesmen of Virginia devise a method, which will . . . reinstate that group of laws known as the Constitution so that the government of the people, by the people and for the people will not perish from the earth."[324]

On the morning of February 2, 1959, Ronald Deskins, Michael Jones, Lance Newman, and Gloria Thompson entered Stratford Junior High School without incident.[325] With the attendance of these four African American students, Stratford Junior High School became the first integrated public school in Virginia followed by a school in Norfolk 15 minutes later. This pivotal event marked the end of the Massive Resistance movement in Virginia.[326] Additional black students would be granted placement in the white schools in the following semesters. However, it would not be until 1971 that school integration could be fully achieved with the Supreme Court decision in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* that ruled bussing was a legitimate method of integrating schools.[327] Ironically, this full integration, which was accomplished in

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Massive Resistance to School Desegregation in Virginia, ed. Matthew D. Lassiter and Andrew B. Lewis (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998), 182.

[320] Lillywhite et al., "The Citizens Fight for Better Schools".

[321] David L. Krupsaw, "The Day Nothing Happened Reprinted from the Anti-Defamation League Bulletin February 1959," ibid. (1959), http://www.projectdaps.org/items/show/865.

[322] Louise Parks Winfield and Social Action Committee of the Rock Spring Congregation Church, "What Happens When Public Schools Are Integrated in a Community Like Arlington?," ibid. (1958), http://www.projectdaps.org/items/show/855.

[323] "Newspaper Article from Daily News, "Arlington Family Gets out of Integration Suit" June 4, 1956," *RG 18, Personal Papers of Barbara Marx, Project DAPS* (1956), http://www.projectdaps.org/items/show/717.

[324] David Dexter, "Integration with Minimal Integration" (University of Virginia, 2005).

[325] Lance Newman, interview by Judy Knudsen and Joanna Dressel, 2016.

[326] Carrie E. Albee and Laura V. Trieschmann, "Stratford Junior High School, Arlington County, Virginia, National Register of Historic Places Nomination," (Washington, D.C.: EHT Traceries, 2003), 8: 16-18.

[327] Krupsaw, "The Day Nothing Happened Reprinted from the Anti-Defamation League Bulletin February 1959"; United States Supreme Court, *Swann V. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education (No. 281)*, 1971.

Arlington County by 1973, would come at an unintended cost to the community. By sending elementary–age children to the former all-white schools, the schools which once served as the center of the African American community stood empty. Meanwhile, their children were divided up and sent on long bus rides to schools scattered across the county. The County School Administration, civic organizations, and community members struggled to find a new use for the former black schools. The former Drew Elementary School was replaced with a new Model Drew School in an attempt to attract white students while other former black schools were demolished.

The efforts by Arlington County residents to integrate their school system were remarkable for the partnerships that forged across racial lines. From a beginning of distrust between citizens and the appointed school board in the 1940s, the residents sought positive change. Once the school board became an elected body, it worked closely with citizens and their committees to address the challenges of ending segregation and Massive Resistance. Finally, the court case that lead to Stratford Junior High School becoming the first public school in Virginia to become integrated was filed by black and white students and their families together.

Members of both the white and black communities, including Barbara Marx, Elizabeth Campbell, and Dorothy Hamm, worked closely together during the efforts to integrate the schools. Barbara Marx, a career woman who moved from the north to the Washington, D.C., area during World War II, joined the lawsuit to integrate Stratford Junior High School with her children. Claiming that her children had been ruined after only one year attending school in the segregated South, Marx was known for involving them in inter-racial activities. She co-wrote a book of recommended fiction and non-fiction reading to enlighten people and was featured in the African American publication, *Jet*, after she was elected to the Executive Board of the Arlington Chapter of the NAACP, the first white person in Virginia to hold such a distinction.[328] Elizabeth Pfohl Campbell was the first woman elected to a Virginia school board. She served the Arlington County School Board for three terms beginning in 1948 and maintained papers recording this era. She and her husband, lawyer Edmund Douglas Campbell, participated in meetings of public education groups, including Save Our Schools Committee of Arlington, and Arlington Committee to Preserve Public Schools.[329] The Campbells were also members of Rock Creek United Church of Christ, which, through its Neighborhood House outreach program, became very involved in the Civil Rights Movement and partnered with African American churches for bible schools and other activities. African American Dorothy Hamm was party with her son in the lawsuit, and was involved in various orientation and training activities that took place before the students enrolled in Stratford Junior High School. She went on to help integrate Arlington County's movie theaters. Mrs. Hamm summed up the spirit of partnership between the two races in an interview with Edmund Campbell, in which she recalled the morning that Stratford Junior High School became integrated. Theda Henle, one of the white mothers in the Cherrydale neighborhood, who lived down the street from the school, had telephoned the mothers of the black students to invite them to her home that morning, where they celebrated their accomplishment together. Henle also offered her house, which is no longer extant, as a safe place for black students to wait for a ride after school.[330]

Other activists included teachers, such as Evelyn Reid Syphax, who taught all four of the children in the lawsuit as their third grade teacher at Langston Elementary School before she married a Syphax descendant. She recalled taping books together and watching the black schools crumble around them. Taught by her parents that "to receive you must give, and give from your heart," she volunteered extensively on integration initiatives and

[328] Arlington Public Library Local History Room, Papers of Barbara Marx; "Jet Profile: Barbara Marx, Va.'S White Naacp Leader ", *Jet*, October 30, 1958.
[329] Arlington Public Library Local History Room, The Personal Papers of Elizabeth Pfohl Campbell
[330] Dorothy Hamm, interview by Edmund Campbell, 1986.

later repairing the issue of bussing. Among her many ventures, she established the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc., Zeta Chi Omega Chapter in 1954 for women to give back to the community and founded a Montessori School that operated from 1963 to 1987.[331]

Civil Rights Acts and Integration of Communities at Large

Federal initiatives to prohibit discrimination that followed school integration included government hiring (Executive Order 10925, 1964); the prohibition of the poll tax requirement (24th Amendment, 1964); the prohibition of discrimination of all types in public facilities, government and employment (Civil Rights Act of 1964);Voting Rights Act of 1965; Affirmative Action in 1965 (Executive Order 11246); Affirmative Action for women in 1968 (Executive Order 11375), and in the sale, rental, or financing of housing (Civil Rights Act of 1968). Given its close location to the nation's capital, Arlington County directly experienced the impact of the federal government's actions to eliminate racial discrimination, especially as they related to government employment and spending.[332]

While the 1965 Federal Housing Act provided rent subsidies for federal housing projects, the white-majority residents of Arlington County opposed the construction of public housing. Adequate, affordable housing continued to be an issue in the county, particularly in the African American neighborhoods where land was limited for new development. As a result, the original, single-family residential character of historic neighborhoods was beginning to be replaced with large, multiple-family buildings that change the scale of the neighborhood. In 1966, the Action Coordinating Committee to End Segregation in the Suburbs (ACCESS) organized a two-day march to raise awareness of the inadequate housing conditions.

In addition to fair housing and schools, the county's black and white residents fought for the right of African Americans to shop and eat where they like, following the example of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) founded in Raleigh, North Carolina, in April 1960. Students from Howard University organized the Non-Violent Action Group (NAG) to hold a series of sit-ins, which white students from other universities joined. Like those in Raleigh, the sit-ins were meant to highlight the hypocrisy of segregated public facilities in Arlington County when similar facilities in nearby Washington, D.C. and Maryland suburbs did not discriminate against blacks. The sit-in movement raised the question of whether privately-owned accommodations open to the general public, such as lunch counters, should be treated the same as public accommodations, in terms of the 14th Amendment protections.[333] A biracial group of students attempted sit-ins in Arlington County on June 9, 1960, at facilities on Old Dominion Drive and Lee Highway. Rather than serve the black students, both lunch counters promptly closed. The students also staged a sit-in at the Howard Johnson's restaurant at 4700 Lee Highway. After two arrests were made for trespassing and Neo-Nazi protesters harassed the students, the NAG suspended the sit-ins to allow for the local businesses to reconsider their policies and for the county board to take a position. Sit-ins the following week at Lansburgh's Department Store and the Woolworth's lunch counter in Shirlington led to the desegregation of five major stores in Arlington County by the end of the week without organized sit-ins or demonstrations.[334] Most department and chain stores

[331] Louie Estrada, "Evelyn Reid Syphax Dies at 83," *The Washington Post*, March 21, 2000.
[332] Cemetery, "Black History at Arlington National Cemetery".
[333] Christopher W. Schmidt, "The Sit-Ins and the State Action Doctrine," *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 18, no. 3 (2010).
[334] County, "Guide to the African American Heritage," 57; Laurie McClellan, "Tales of a Freedom Rider," *Arlington Magazine*2015; Susanna McBee and Elsie Carper, "Sitdown Comes to N. Virginia," *The Washington Post*, June 10, 1960.

in the neighboring localities of Fairfax and Alexandria also integrated within a few days of the Arlington County sit-ins.

As the black Civil Rights Movement gained momentum, Arlington County found itself in the challenging position of respecting freedom of speech as well as the civil liberties such speech threatened. Ballston, once the home to a KKK chapter, became headquarters for ex-Navy pilot George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party.[335] Before starting the March on Washington in August 1963, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. held a meeting in the parking lot of the Lomax AME Zion Church, which provided food and shelter to those coming from out of town to participate in the march.[336] Calloway United Methodist Church also hosted visitors in town for the march. Local civil rights activist Joan Trumpauer Mulholland, who had helped organize Freedom Rides and participated in various sit-ins in Arlington County and elsewhere, was involved.[337]

In 1964, the Council on Human Relations reported on the advances made in civil rights in Arlington county in the six years since the group's initial survey.[338] The report noted that since 1958, the schools had been partially integrated, playgrounds and movie theaters allowed blacks, segregation on public transportation had been illegal since 1946, and public libraries had been integrated since 1950. The Negro Recreation Section, under the direction of the first African American Park Superintendent, Ernest E. Johnson, began holding inter-racial dances for the youth in 1959 and the county's recreation department fully desegregated in 1962.[339]

While established community leaders and churches guided peaceful progress, a growing number of youth and lower-income residents of urban areas became frustrated with the slow process of integration, much like abolitionists had become frustrated with an older generation of gradualists in the antebellum era. The sentiment ignited a series of multi-day riots in many major cities between 1965 and 1967. On July 29, 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson issued Executive Order 11365 creating the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, while one raged on in Detroit, Michigan. Led by Illinois Governor Otto Kerner, the commission analyzed the cause of riots and declining racial relationships, providing a complete historic context from settlement to the mid-twentieth century.[340] It identified root causes in the institution of slavery, black codes, bias and abuse from police, one-sided journalism, unemployment, the poor condition of housing and schools, poor health care, and the preying of business owners on low income residents. It also provided a comprehensive list of potential solutions to be implemented from grassroots efforts to widespread policy reforms, many of which were ignored by the Nixon administration but were implemented in later years. After the report was released on February 29, 1968, the Rev. King declared that it was a "physician's warning of approaching death, with a prescription for life."[341]

On April 4, 1968, five weeks after the Kerner report's release and almost five years after he prepared for the March on Washington at Lomax A.M.E. Church, Dr. King was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. D.C.

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[335] Jacob Fenston, "Arlington's Uneasy Relationship with Nazi Party Founder," *The Northern Virginia Sun*, September 6, 2013.
[336] Sarah Groesbeck, "Nauck Civil, Social, and Religious Organizations" (George Washington University, 2010), 7.
[337] McClellan, "Tales of a Freedom Rider."
[338] Arlington Council on Human Relations, "Story of Integration in Arlington, Virginia, November 1964," *RG 44, Records of the League of Women Voters of Arlington, Virginia, Inc., Project DAPS* (1964), http://projectdaps.org/items/show/930.
[339] "Highlights of the Negro Recreation Section," http://nauck.omeka.net/exhibits/show/negrorec/rec.
[340] Kerner, *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*.
[341] Philip Meranto, ed. *The Kerner Report Revisited: Final Report and Background Papers* (University of Illinois, Institute of Public Affairs, 1970); Faye P. Haskins, "Behind the Headlines: The Evening Star's Coverage of the 1968 Riots," *Washington History* 19/20, no. 2007/2008 (2008).

protesters first took to the streets in the Shaw neighborhood (a historically black middle-class neighborhood near Howard University where Duke Ellington was born). A Shaw resident and major black activist, Stokely Carmichael, was in those very months transitioning from the peaceful SNCC to become the Honorary Prime Minister of the militant Black Panthers. Hearing the news, he reportedly led protestors into the streets to ask shop owners to close as a show of mourning and respect, but the crowd very quickly became a riot, which would last 12 days and result in 13 deaths. With the destruction of over $24 million worth of property, middle-class residents chose to abandon homes and businesses and relocate to surrounding counties such as Arlington and Prince George's rather than rebuild. After this initial exodus, exponential middle-class flight occurred as crime and poverty rates increased in the inner city. King's assassination was a tipping point in D.C. as other places, but the destruction of the once thriving black community there was also the result of years of the type of pent frustration noted in the Kerner report.[342] Following L.A., Detroit, and Newark, D.C. riots have been measured by some economists as the most devastating of any on record to the labor market as reinvestment in the neighborhoods did not occur for decades.[343] The impact on Arlington was conversely profitable for business at large but contributed to the long-term decline of the African American population in its suburban communities as the supply of land could not meet the demand of an increasingly wealthy multi-national population.

African American Communities in Arlington County

Green Valley/Nauck

Nauck was primarily situated on the lands of Gustavus Brown Alexander (1793-1860) in an area then known as Green Valley before the Civil War. The area's earliest African American landowner, Levi Jones, was the son of enslaved workers at Mount Vernon who were freed upon Martha Washington's death. In 1844, Jones purchased a 14-acre property, likely to be closer to his wife, Sarah Ann Gardner, who was enslaved at Green Valley Manor by Anthony Fraser. After the war, the community grew as former residents of the Freedman's Village moved to the area. Among the first to arrive, Thornton and Selina Gray, formerly enslaved at Arlington House, purchased ten acres in 1867. In 1874, John D. Nauck, Jr., a white German immigrant who was active in local government and county development, bought 46 acres and an additional 23 acres in 1875. He subdivided the land and sold properties primarily to African Americans who referred to the community as "Nauckville" as shown on an 1876 plat titled "Town of Nauck, formerly known as Nauckville and Convalescent Camp." William A. Rowe, a black member of the Radical Republicans and political leader in the county during Reconstruction, purchased five acres in the neighborhood and moved from Freedman's Village the year it was mapped.[344]

Little Zion AME Church, founded in 1863 as Wesley Zion Church, moved from Freedman's Village to a one-acre lot in 1874. The church was renamed in 1876, in honor of T.H. Lomax, who was named bishop of the AME Church in that same year and assigned to Washington, D.C. Many of the earliest residents noted in the 1878 G.M. Hopkins map of "Washington, D.C. and Vicinity" were members of Lomax AME Zion Church and are buried in the church cemetery. The settlement of Nauck, per the 1878 Hopkins map, consisted of approximately 40 houses.[345] By 1887, the county had constructed the one-room frame Kemper School. By 1893,

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[342] "Behind the Headlines: The Evening Star's Coverage of the 1968 Riots," 64-67; Dana Lanier Schaffer, "The 1968 Washington D.C. Riots in History and Memory," ibid.15, no. 2 (2003/2004).

[343] William J. Collins and Robert A. Margo, "The Labor Market Effects of the 1960s Riots," in *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2004).

[344] Ibid.

[345] Kristie Baynard, "Lomax A.M.E. Zion Church, National Register of Historic Places Nomination," (Washington, D.C.: EHT

enrollment in Nauck had increased to warrant the construction of a two-story brick school.[346] *The Washington Bee* reported that John Nauck sold many more lots to African Americans between 1890 and 1900. The newspaper also observed that the community had a post office and at least 150 residents by 1896.[347] Nauck also served as a station stop along the Richmond and Danville Railroad (later known as the Washington and Old Dominion Railroad).

In the early twentieth century, the land surrounding the community was eventually subdivided and developed as Fairview, West Nauck, Douglas Park, and Nauck Heights—all of which today are considered part of Nauck. Lomax AME Zion Church built a new sanctuary in 1922, and Macedonia Baptist Church was established in 1927. After outgrowing this building, Macedonia Baptist Church built the current sanctuary at 3412 22nd Street South in 1971. The Majestic Barber Shop, built c. 1925 at 2319 Shirlington Road, is an example of an early black-owned and operated business in the commercial area. Mamie Bell Mackley Brown also opened the Friendly Beauty School in 1930 to train women as hairdressers.

The second Kemper School was completed in 1925 with over 700 community members in attendance at its dedication. Construction costs for the four-room, brick school building totaled $31,400 with the county's cost supplemented by a grant from the Rosenwald Fund as well as a donation from the community. Two other county schools were constructed with assistance from the Rosenwald Fund created by Booker T. Washington, a Hampton Institute graduate and Tuskegee Institute founder, and Julius Rosenwald, a German Jew and philanthropist, who was president of the Sears, Roebuck and Company. Locally, the Nauck Citizen's Association (later renamed the Nauck Civic Association) formed in 1926 to advocate for infrastructure and public improvements, school desegregation, and fair housing.[348] Other civic organizations included the Community Council for Social Progress with Frances Ullman as president in 1931 and the Jennie Dean Club under the leadership of Ann Walker.

With increased density, the Kemper School was quickly outgrown during World War II. By 1944, an estimated 265 students attended the four-room school in shifts. Two new churches opened in Nauck in 1945 and 1947, the Mount Zion Baptist Church (DHR No. 000-4905-0197) at 3500 19th Street South and Our Lady Queen of Peace at 2700 19th Street South (DHR No. 000-4905-0051). In 1946, Edward Fleet spearheaded the campaign to establish the Veteran's Memorial Branch YMCA (DHR No. 000-4905-0151) and gained support of 400 new members in the first six months. To assist in this effort, the Jennie Dean Club donated the land for construction of the new branch. A swimming pool was added to the YMCA in the late 1960s to give the neighborhood children a safe place to swim.

Grammy award winning Roberta Flack's youth in Nauck is indicative of the important role churches played in fostering talent and providing a venue for the arts as well as religion when concert halls and galleries weren't always at hand. Born in Asheville, North Carolina, Flack moved with her family around 1944 at first to a small basement apartment and then to a bungalow in Nauck (apparently no longer extant). She started playing the piano at Macedonia Baptist Church at the age of five, learned organ from her mother Irene, and at 15, Howard University gave her a full music scholarship. By 19, she was a college graduate. Flack, B.M.Ed. '58 taught in North Carolina before moving back to Washington, D.C. for another teaching position. Soon, she left education

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Traceries, 2004), 8: 12.

[346] Rose, *Arlington County,* 134.

[347] Ibid., 25.

[348] Birmingham, "The Nauck Community: Pre-World War Ii History, Utilities Development, and Schools," 7.

for entertainment.[349] On February 12, 1981, *Jet* Magazine reported that Roberta Flack's mother died of cancer at 69. The Rev. Jesse Jackson gave the eulogy at Lomax AME Zion Church. Irene Flack was a "diligent community and church worker" and "served as organist for the senior and junior choirs and on various committees. Before retiring in 1971, she was employed as chief baker at Wakefield High School."[350]

Businesses operating in Nauck during the 1950s included two babysitting ventures, seven construction companies, one dry cleaner, two funeral homes, two gas stations, one grocery (Green Valley Market), four beauty shops/barber shops, three junk dealers, one kindergarten, one law office, one notary, eight nurses, one pharmacy, two physicians, one pool hall, one record store, four restaurants, one rooming house, one shoe repair, one taxi company, one trucking company, one TV repair shop (Green Valley TV Repair), and one watch repair shop.[351] Many of these were located on Shirlington Road while others operated out of homes where less capital investment was required. In 1952, Leonard "Doc" Muse, a 1948 graduate of Howard University, opened Green Valley Pharmacy, which was the only African American-owned pharmacy in the county and the only place a black person could pick up their prescription through the front door.[352]

The population of Nauck increased approximately 20 percent from 3,748 in 1950 to 4,691 in 1970.

Hall's Hill/High View Park

Hall's Hill/High View Park in the northern section of the county developed after the Civil War on land owned by Bazil Hall and William Marcy as African Americans returned to farm the plantation where they were formerly enslaved.[353] They initially rented from white property owners, but as early as 1865, expressed their desire to own their own homes and land and have a school and a place to worship in a resolution presented to General Oliver O. Howard, Superintendent of the Freedman's Bureau. These dreams were soon realized when, after unsuccessful attempts to sell his 327-acre farm in 1872, Bazil Hall started selling one-acre lots to African Americans in 1881.[354]

> The style of early homes were [sic] typically wood siding or brick homes with large yards and plentiful gardens; almost everyone had hogs, chickens, turkeys and horses. None of the early homes had running water, but there was a community well where the residents would go to get their supply of water. Everybody had an outhouse too, which interestingly were outdoor toilet facilities that were emptied by a scavenger man who would pick up excess sewage in "honey wagons" from each outhouse in the neighborhood. Residents labored for about fifty cents a day, relying on the nickel trolley to take them into town, (considered Washington, D.C.) to work, shop and/or attend school; otherwise those that could afford to, got around on horses and wagons.[355]

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[349] Phillip Jackson, "Arlington's Roberta Flack Gets Her Start at Mr. Henry's," *Boundary Stones* (September 4, 2014), https://blogs.weta.org/boundarystones/2014/09/04/arlingtons-roberta-flack-gets-her-start-mr-henrys.
[350] "Roberta Flack's Mother Dead of Cancer at 69," *Jet*, February 12, 1981.
[351] Perry, "The Influence of Geography," 114.
[352] "Leonard Muse (1923–)".
[353] Mary Ellen Simmons, "Neighborhood History Preservation Study: Hall's Hill-Highview Park Arlington, Va" (George Mason University, 1987), 4.
[354] County, "Guide to the African American Heritage," 15.
[355] Arlington County, "High View Park Neighborhood Conservation Plan," (Arlington County, Va.: Department of Community Planning, Housing and Development, Historic Preservation Program, 1994).

The members of Calloway United Methodist Church began holding prayer meetings in their homes as early as 1866 before building a modest frame church in 1870. Moses Jackson, a trustee, donated a half-acre lot to the church in 1888 with a portion to be used for a cemetery. Although the present Calloway United Methodist Church (DHR No. 000-8509*)* at 5000 Lee Highway was not completed until 1904, the earliest burial in the adjacent Calloway Cemetery (Local District 2012) dates to 1891. Mount Salvation Baptist Church, which began in 1872 in the home of Robert Pelham in nearby Pelham Town, also purchased land from Bazil Hall in 1882 for a church building and additional land for a cemetery in 1888. The congregation completed construction of the church in 1892 (no longer extant).[356]

Due to the communities' growth, the county purchased land from Bazil Hall to construct the Sumner School building in 1885.[357] Following his death in 1888, Hall's descendants sold the 49 acres of adjacent High View Park to Dr. John P. Lewis. Dr. Lewis, who practiced medicine in Washington, D.C., subdivided the land, and continued to sell lots to African Americans. *The Washington Bee* cited the "high elevation, healthy environment, and proximity to the services provided in Hall's Hill" in an advertisement promoting the new subdivision. At the time, Hall's Hill boasted two churches with a third one under construction, a school, an Oddfellows Hall, and two stores.[358]

The first business in the community was Miss Allen's Store (now Vaughan's) at 1821 North Columbus Street. Others followed – Henry Taylor's store, which sold coal and groceries, Montrose Jackson's store-on-wheels, Fred York's ice business, and Vance Green's Barber shop. Suzanne Hicks eventually operated the Hicks Market and Restaurant and the Hick's Bus Company, which provided residents of Hall's Hill with a connection to the streetcar stop in Rosslyn. Dr. Edward Morton, an African American doctor, and Rebecca Williams, a midwife, provided medical care to the residents of the black community.[359]

In 1918, the Hall's Hill Volunteer Fire Department formed as the county's first African American firefighting unit. The Sumner School was replaced in 1924 by the John M. Langston School at 4854 Lee Highway. Built with a combination of county funds, community donations, and a grant from the Rosenwald Fund, the John M. Langston School was constructed by Noble M. Thomas, a local contractor.[360]

Hall's Hill became more segregated in the 1930s when residents of newer neighboring white subdivisions constructed a series of concrete-block and wood walls to separate themselves from the historically black neighborhood. A section of a segregation wall survives at 17th Road North and North Culpeper Street; in February 2017, Arlington County erected a historic marker.

A new station for the Fire Department was constructed in 1934 that served as a center for the community where residents gathered and had access to a pay telephone.[361] The community also had a baseball team known as the Virginia White Sox. In 1924, residents organized a community association, the John M. Langston Citizens

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[356] "Calloway Cemetery."
[357] Rose, *Arlington County,* 134-136.
[358] Perry, "The Influence of Geography," 14-16.
[359] County, "High View Park Neighborhood Conservation Plan."
[360] "Rosenwald Fund Database," (Nashville, Tn.: Fiske University).
[361] Arlington Public Library, "Legacy: Hall's Hill Vfd and Station No. 8," (2017), http://library.arlingtonva.us/2015/08/04/legacy-halls-hill-vfd-and-station-no-8.

Association, which has operated continuously since its inception. Suzanna Hicks organized the first Black-owned bus in Arlington County.

After World War II, Naomi Thompson-Richards edited Arlington's first Black newspaper, *The Virginia Arrow*, exclusively advertising local African American businesses. Although the community's opportunities and resources were limited, many long-time residents today refer to those times as the "good ole' days"; as children, they created their own fun by making radio's with wire and oatmeal boxes, and making their own telephones by putting baking powder in a metal can, puncturing a hole in the can with a nail, and then extending the cord through the can. Residents still reminisce about the days when there were community-wide church activities and block parties.

By 1964, the Hall's Hill/High View Park neighborhood consisted of 325 homes. Two-thirds of these were occupied by African Americans, owner-occupied, or had been owned by the same family for at least 15 years.[362] Early to mid-twentieth century vernacular dwellings characterized the area. The following businesses also operated in Hall's Hill in 1950: three construction companies, one dance hall, one dance band, one dentist, one dry cleaner, three fuel companies, one gas station, five grocery stores, four beauty shops/barber shops, one ice vender, one ice cream parlor, one lawyer, three nurses, two physicians, two pool halls, one produce truck company, one restaurant, one rooming house, four seamstresses, two taxi companies, two trucking companies, one TV repair shop and one window cleaner.[363]

The John M. Langston School continued to operate and serve as a center to the John M. Langston Civic Association. It was an active community until consolidation, as part of integration, moved all grades except kindergarten to neighboring white schools in 1966. Hall's Hill remained relatively unchanged between 1950 and 1970, but with the introduction of bussing in 1971, Arlington County's schools became fully integrated and the John M. Langston School closed. The former school was demolished and the site is now home to the John M. Langston Continuation Program and the Langston-Brown Community Center.

Johnson's Hill/Arlington View

John Roberts Johnson, who owned 100 acres of land and 15 enslaved workers prior to the Civil War in the vicinity of Johnson's Hill/Arlington View, began selling parcels to African Americans in the late nineteenth century. Located on a hill overlooking the Arlington House property and Freedman's Village, the area attracted many blacks who moved to the area following the closing of Freedman's Village. An advocate for the rights of African Americans following the war, Johnson built the one-room Jefferson School for blacks in 1872. By 1876, as many as 80 students attended. In 1878, the crossroad village of Columbia Pike and Arlington Ridge Road consisted of several dwellings, two stores, a blacksmith shop, a tollgate, and the school.[364]

Before his death in 1882, Johnson conveyed a one-half acre lot on Mount Vernon Avenue (now Arlington Ridge Road) to the trustees of Mount Zion Baptist Church to relocate from Freedman's Village. Designed by Felix May, the brick church (no longer extant) was constructed at a cost of $1,610 and was completed in 1887.[365]

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[362] Simmons, "Neighborhood History Preservation Study: Hall's Hill-Highview Park Arlington, Va," 13.
[363] Perry, "The Influence of Geography," 114.
[364] County, "Guide to the African American Heritage," 44.
[365] Mt. Zion Baptist Church, "Our History,"

Johnson's sons, William C. and Richard W. Johnson, inherited a large portion of his land and continued to subdivide and sell the land to African Americans. William C. Johnson sold parcels to Harry W. Gray, Harrison Green, and John Oliver. Gray was a son of Selina and Thornton Gray of Arlington House. He had worked there as a bricklayer before moving to D.C. following the war and then returned to Alexandria County in 1881 to purchase nine acres, where he built his Italianate-style, brick townhouse at 1005 South Quinn Street in 1881 (DHR No. 000-0515; Local District 1984, NRHP 2004).[366]

Meanwhile, Richard W. Johnson subdivided his land south of Columbia Pike and east of South Queen Street, known as Johnson's Hill, before selling it in 1889 to Emanuel Jackson of Washington, D.C. Jackson purchased adjacent land to enlarge the subdivision. Jackson referred to the neighborhood as Arlingtonville, although this name fell quickly from use, and sold lots to African Americans. A new, one-room school was constructed in 1889 to replace the first Jefferson School. The community quickly outgrew this school with more than 120 students by 1895. To accommodate this growth, the county added a second story and an additional teacher.[367]

By 1900, Johnson's Hill/Arlington View consisted of approximately 300-to-400 families and included Mt. Zion Baptist Church, the Jefferson School, and a masonic hall. In addition to the 1881 Harry Gray House, houses at 1010 South Rolfe Street (DHR No. 000-0518) and 1552 12th Street South (DHR No. 000-9718-0018), which were built c. 1900, survive today in the Arlington View neighborhood. The Johnson's Hill neighborhood expanded again in the early twentieth century with the addition of the adjacent subdivisions of Arlington View and Southgate Vale. It developed primarily as a residential neighborhood with houses from the first half of the twentieth century designed in a mixture of Folk Victorian, Shingle, Craftsman, and Colonial-Revival styles. Upon the death of Harry W. Gray in 1913, Martha Hoard Gray subdivided the land for their children. Known as "Gray's Addition," it included two streets named "Hoard" and "Gray" after Mary and Harry.

The Jefferson School became overcrowded again and parents appealed to the county to construct a new school for grades one through nine. The new, four-room Jefferson School, designed by local architect Frank Upman at a cost of $6,500, opened in 1915 at 1415 S. Queen Street. As Arlington View continued to grow, a four-room addition was built in 1931 with contributions from the Rosenwald Fund and the community and renamed the Hoffman-Boston Junior High School in 1932, in honor of Edward Hoffman, principal of the Jefferson School (1896-1926) and Ella M. Boston, principal of the Kemper School (1904-1928).[368] In the late 1930s, Hoffman-Boston became the only school in Arlington County to provide high school curriculum to African Americans. Period maps reveal that the concrete-block, one-story building known to students and faculty as the Little Red Schoolhouse, was constructed between 1936 and 1940 to serve as a vocational building. Here, students applied their skills at home economics and technical courses, from sewing to woodworking.

Mount Zion Baptist Church was located on the same site in Arlington View since leaving Freedman's Village c. 1880. In 1930, they replaced their earlier frame structure with a brick two-story church on the Mount Vernon Avenue site, but by 1945, relocated to Nauck and constructed a new church at 3500 19th Street South after the federal government condemned the property and a portion of Arlington View for construction of the Pentagon and its road system. Those displaced within the neighborhood and those from other lost communities relocated

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http://www.mountzionbaptist.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=7&Itemid.Mount Zion Baptist Church, "Our History"

[366] Jennifer Bunting Hallock, "Harry W. Gray House, National Register of Historic Places Nomination," (Washington, D.C.: EHT Traceries, 2004).

[367] Reports of the Superintendent of Schools, cited in Rose, *Arlington County*, 134-136.

[368] County, "Guide to the African American Heritage," 39-49.

to the remaining portion of Arlington View with few other buying options. The reduction in land and increase in population led to a density of residential lots that was 59 percent greater than the local average. Apartment buildings and duplexes began to appear in the years following World War II to accommodate this growth to some extent.[369] In an effort to improve the evolving community in 1945, Margaret Minor established a chapter of the sororal Daughters of the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World an auxiliary of the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World. Meetings took place in her in a bungalow on Rolfe Street.

In 1960, there were 233 housing units, 171 were owner-occupied, 89 were rented, 3 were vacant, 199 were sound, 31 were deteriorating, and 3 were dilapidated. In 1963 when George M. Richardson began advocating for its conservation and revitalization, *the Washington Post* reported that 88 units were constructed in three years for a total of 311 dwellings in addition to the George Washington Carver Homes and 1,116 residents.[370] While many of its residences were identified as dilapidated following World War II, over 50 percent had been either renovated or replaced by 1964. Businesses located in the neighborhood included one baby sitter, one beer garden, one blacksmith, seven construction companies, two convenience stores, one beauty school, five beauty shops/barber shops, one ice vendor, two nurses, one produce truck company, three real estate offices (two of which are still operating), two restaurants, two seamstress shops, one trucking company, and one window cleaner.[371] Active groups in 1965 included the one church, Arlington View Civic Association, Senior Citizens' Associations, two Parent-Teachers' Associations, Carver Homes Cooperative Apartment, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Mason and Elks Fraternal Orders, Eastern Star, Odd Fellows, and American Legion.[372]

Like Hall's Hill, Johnson's Hill/Arlington View remained relatively unchanged between 1950 and 1970;[373] however, Hoffman-Boston High School closed in 1964 as the County integrated the school system and became an integrated junior high school known as the Jefferson Annex for seventh-grade students from 1965 to 1971. The school reopened as the Hoffman-Boston School, an alternative junior high school, from 1972 to 1978 before becoming the George Washington Carver Community Center.[374] After a $12 million renovation and expansion in 2002, the building reopened again as the Hoffman-Boston Elementary School.

Penrose

Penrose first developed when two African American farmers, Henry L. Holmes and William H. Butler, purchased land west of Fort Myer in the 1879 and built houses for themselves, including Butler's Queen Anne-inspired dwelling at 2407 2nd Street South (DHR No. 000-8823-0093). Formerly residents of Freedman's Village, the two men had become well-respected leaders and held numerous positions in local government during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1882, Holmes and Butler subdivided their land into approximately 171 residential lots; an 1894 map indicates that approximately ten houses had already been

[369] Jennifer Bunting Hallock and Laura V. Trieschmann, "Penrose Historic District, National Register of Historic Places Nomination," (Washington, D.C.: EHT Traceries, 2004), 8: 107.
[370] "Arlington Area Viewed for Neighborhood Uplift," *The Washington Post* 1983.
[371] Perry, "The Influence of Geography," 114.
[372] Arlington County, "Arlington View Neighborhood Conservation Plan," (Arlington County, Va.: Department of Community Planning, Housing and Development, Historic Preservation Program, 1965).
[373] Perry, Crew, and Waters, "Residential Patterns in Segregated Arlington," 661.
[374] County, "Guide to the African American Heritage," 61.

constructed by that time. The earliest buildings were located at the northern edge of what would become known as the Penrose neighborhood and tended to be larger, vernacular houses on substantial lots.

Several more subdivisions within Penrose followed during the first half of the twentieth century. The expansion of the Washington, Arlington and Falls Church streetcar as well as the opening of Arlington Boulevard on the northern edge of the neighborhood contributed to this growth as it allowed residents to commute to industrial, service, and civic jobs in Rosslyn, Georgetown, and the District of Columbia. Commercial ventures popped up around the streetcar stops.

In 1925, a map shows approximately 78 buildings in the community with 23 of these being within the boundaries of the original Butler-Homes tract. By the 1930 and 1940 census, however, the number of African American households had decreased to six. Houses in the neighborhood were predominantly American Foursquare, Craftsman bungalows, or Colonial-Revival, some thought to be kit houses that came in on the railroad. Style. Dr. Charles R. Drew, a renowned scientific medical researcher who developed a process for plasma transfusions, lived in a c. 1880 house at 2505 1st Street South (000-001; NHL 1976) until 1939. Dr. John B. Johnson also lived in Penrose at the c. 1925 house at 2317 2nd Street South.[375]

In the 1930s, the number of buildings increased to 175 and several churches due to the path of Arlington Boulevard Route 50. The construction of the Pentagon prompted the development of several garden style apartments, including the Fillmore Gardens, which "received an award for architectural merit in 1943 from the Washington Board of Trade… but also led to the demolition of the Sewell Corbett/Bradbury House and the Arlington M.E. Church."[376] Commercial buildings dating to the mid-twentieth century line Columbia Pike on the southern edge, serving the neighborhood and through-traffic.

Infill development occurred on vacant lots for the latter half of the twentieth century. Adding to the wide array of housing stock in the neighborhood, white developers built two large apartment complexes in 1960 among single-family homes, apartment buildings, shopping centers, and smaller retail buildings. Like most of Arlington's African American communities, many of the original houses have been razed in favor of bigger houses.

Lost Neighborhoods

The following African American communities developed as smaller settlements following the closing of Freedman's Village, but none now survive. Demolition and redevelopment of these areas was in some cases not long after their establishment or in others due to major infrastructure project such as the Pentagon or highway construction. Subsequently, what land remained became attractive to developers. In other cases, the settlement was relatively small, sometimes limited to family members, and was simply absorbed by the expansion of neighboring communities.

Jackson City was originally developed by Northern speculators attempting to establish an industrial city across from Washington, much like Brooklyn was to New York. On January 11, 1836, President Andrew Jackson and George Washington Parke Custis participated in the laying of a foundation stone near the end of the former Long Bridge and the Orange and Alexandria Railroad bridge; however, the venture failed and the area remained

[375] Hallock and Trieschmann, "Penrose Historic District."
[376] Arlington County, "Penrose Neighborhood Conservation Plan," (Arlington County, Va.: Department of Community Planning, Housing and Development, Historic Preservation Program, 1994), 1-11.

mostly agricultural until the Civil War when Fort Jackson was established. In 1870, gambling was outlawed in New Jersey, prompting investors to move their businesses to Jackson City and Rosslyn. Gambling houses, racetracks, and brothels spread along the Potomac earning the area the name of the Monte Carlo of America by the 1880s. Local farmers benefited by supplying everything from food for the resorts to cocks for cock fighting, and the industrial area envisioned before the war finally began to grow. With entertainment and employment, an interracial working-class neighborhood developed in the 1880s. Houses within the area were typically two-story, frame, row houses. Commonwealth Attorney Crandall Mackey and the Good Citizens League raided illegal establishments in 1904 and much of Jackson City and Rosslyn was shut down. Within two years, the Washington and Mt. Vernon Railroad, led by another northern investor, built a 40-acre amusement park nearby.[377] Any remnants of Jackson City were removed during Pentagon construction in the 1940s.[378]

Rosslyn sustained a middle-class black quarter with a population sufficient for the county to rent space for a school for black students after the Freedman's Village school closed in 1888.[379] The black First Baptist Church of Rosslyn formed from one of the same name in neighboring Georgetown.[380] Avoiding the redevelopment that occurred in Jackson City, the area survived until the end of the Great Depression. A photographer for the U.S. Resettlement Administration captured photographs of the black quarter in September of 1937, which showed wood frame row houses much like those in Jackson City. Essentially a tool for urban renewal in Arlington, the Resettlement Administration was a New Deal agency created by President Franklin D. Roosevelt under Executive Order 7027 to assist with rehabilitation of rural land, land use, and rural and suburban resettlement. During the area's redevelopment in the flurry of pre-World War II, street and alley scenes and backyards were captured before destruction.[381]

Pelham Town was established on land purchased in 1890 by Burrell and Moses Jackson near the Hall's Hill neighborhood and what is now Marymount College. The small settlement was occupied mostly by Pelham family members initially. A founder, Moses Pelham worked for the Washington Gas Company until the age of 65. By 1930, four of the eight houses in the settlement were rented to people outside of the family. In the late 1940s, the county required that all houses be connected to public water and sewer lines, forcing Moses Pelham's grandson, William Pelham, to sell the last lot.[382]

Queen City was established in the southeast section of the county in 1892 when the trustees of Mount Olive Baptist Church purchased two acres for $1,200 to relocate their church following the closure of Freedman's Village. The church was sited at the end of the parcel fronting on Mount Vernon Avenue, and the remaining land was subdivided into 20 residential lots and sold to parishioners. Almost 50 years later in 1939, the congregation completed construction of a new sanctuary designed by Washington, D.C., architect R.C. Archer, at a cost of $12,000. Within two years, the new building was cleared for the roadway system associated with the Pentagon. The congregation purchased land in the Johnson's Hill neighborhood at 1601 13th Road South and reconstructed another new church under the direction of R.C. Archer.

East Arlington developed adjacent to Queen City in 1904, when a developer purchased 27 acres of land to subdivide. Located near the industrial area along the Potomac River, these two subdivisions housed a number

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[377] Shafer, "Recreation in Arlington 1870-1920," 62-67.
[378] Frederick Tilp, *This Was Potomac River* (Frederick, Md.: Wonder Book, 1978), 160.
[379] Alexandria County (Va.) Superintendent of Schools Records, 1851-1920; Rose, *Arlington County*, 136-137.
[380] Carter Godwin Woodson, ed. *The Journal of Negro History* (New York: United Pub. Corp, 1916), 88.
[381] John Vachon, *Street Scenes, Backyards and Negro Houses in Rosslyn*, 1937 Sept. U.S. Resettlement Administration.
[382] Perry, Crew, and Waters, "Residential Patterns in Segregated Arlington," 417; Stanford, *Suburban Black Elderly*, 28-30.

of workers for the brickyards, concrete plant, oil refinery, and coal yard located on the river and Columbia Pike. Several small businesses were located in East Arlington including three groceries, two barber shops, a shoe-repair shop, beer-garden/restaurant, a garage, and a pool hall. It grew to contain 218 households with 903 inhabitants in wood-frame row houses in 1940 just before residents were forced to move for the construction of access roads and parking associated with the proposed Pentagon. Today, a cloverleaf highway structure immediately west of the Pentagon occupies the site.[383] After demolition from 1941 to 1942, many of the residents relocated to government trailers in Nauck and Arlington View.[384]

The settlement of Balls Cross Roads developed in the vicinity of present-day Ballston when William Gre purchased land and sold lots to other African Americans in the late-nineteenth century. Occupied by many extended members of the family, the settlement was close-knit and stable with 100 percent of its 25 houses owner-occupied in 1920. The neighborhood would remain stable through the mid-1940s with 75 percent of the families living there in 1920 remaining in the 1930 and 1940 census.[385]

In the 1940s, development pressure, increased land value, and street and utility improvements caused property taxes to increase. Furthermore, in 1962, once public utilities were made available to all residents, the county instituted an ordinance requiring minimum standards for housing, including the repair of old housing stock, which required substantial investment in some cases.[386] These financial pressures may have caused many of the smaller African American settlements – such as Ballston, Pelham Town, and Rosslyn – to disappear as the property owners chose to sell to developers rather than pay for the required modernizations and increased property taxes. Additionally, these smaller settlements, which did not have schools, churches, and businesses to serve their residents, became even more isolated as white suburban developments surrounded them.[387]

Recreation

African American Arlingtonians' engaged in a wide variety of activities for recreation from the arts to athletics within their churches, fellowship halls, and segregated parks. One of if not the earliest official sports team, the Old Virginia Blues amateur baseball team formed in South Arlington around 1910 and is documented as having played every Sunday on a field in East Arlington, but it is not known when or why they disbanded. In their place emerged two teams—the Virginia White Sox of Hall's Hill and the Green Valley Black Sox of Nauck. Competing in the 1930s into the 1950s, Arlington's black baseball players kicked off the season after Memorial Day a field in High View Park, land now occupied by the Virginia Hospital Center.[388] Green Valley Black Sox played farther afield, traveling at least once to compete against the Charlottesville Elks, who were members of the African American Western Virginia League.[389] Both Green Valley and the Virginia White Sox had disbanded by the early 1950s, supposedly due to losing their High View Park ballfield to hospital development. In 1949, Ernest E. Johnson became the first and only Negro Recreation Supervisor for the Department of Parks

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[383] Charlie Clark, *Hidden History of Arlington County* (Charleston, S.C.: The History Press, 2017).Clark, 2017: 56

[384] Nancy Perry, "Eminent Domain Destroys a Community: Leveling East Arlington to Make Way for the Pentagon," *Urban Geography* 37, no. 1 (2016): 11-13.

[385] Perry, Crews and Waters, "Residential Patterns in Segregated Arlington," 404; States, *Executive Documents of the House 1887-'88*.

[386] Relations, *Story of Integration in Arlington*, 3; Perry, Crews and Waters, "Residential Patterns in Segregated Arlington," 404; Stanford, *Suburban Black Elderly*, 28.

[387] Shafer, "Recreation in Arlington 1870-1920," 8.

[388] Arlington Public Library, "Everyone's National Pastime," (2017), https://library.arlingtonva.us/2007/03/27/everyones-national-pastime/.

[389] Chaz Weaver, *The Valley Baseball League: A History of Baseball in the Shenandoah Valley* (Chaz Weaver, private printing, 2014), 140, 42.

and Recreation, as he remained on the county staff after integration. He ran several athletic programs, including little league baseball and a 1950s baseball team known as the Arlington Athletics and the Daper [sic] Jeans.[390] With Jennie Dean Park and the Carver Center at his disposal, he also introduced dance, theater, and music programs, perhaps the first available public offerings to the black community outside of churches and started the county's first Negro Boy Scout Troop.[391]

Neighborhood Conservation Plans

Recognizing the strength of these close-knit communities and the values they promoted, the Arlington County Planning Commission initiated a program to protect older, residential neighborhoods from increasing redevelopment pressure. In 1964 with Arlington View served as the pilot project for a Neighborhood Conservation Plan. Planning staff worked closely with neighborhoods' residents through various civic organizations and churches to identify existing conditions and proposed improvements. The focus of the plans was on land use, zoning, and infrastructure improvements to retain the existing residential use, encourage appropriate new development, and curb urban decay associated with overcrowding, aging, and inadequate infrastructure. Once the plan was adopted by the neighborhood and the county, the county agreed to fund 50 percent of the proposed improvements with the residents funding the rest. Following Arlington View, the community of Hall's Hill developed a neighborhood plan in 1965, at which time it officially changed its name to High View Park. Penrose followed in 1967 and Nauck in in 1973. Neighborhood Conservation Plans for all but Arlington View were updated to guide future development and are responsible for hundreds of infrastructure improvements that have been implemented over the last 50 years.[392] Today, Green Valley/Nauck, Hall's Hill/High View Park, Johnson's Hill/Arlington View, and Penrose are the only historically black neighborhoods that survive in Arlington County. The strong sense of community that developed over a century has created neighborhoods where many residents continue to live by choice even though segregation no longer limits their options. All have become multi-cultural neighborhoods and run the risk of losing their historic identity and integrity as property values and redevelopment continue at a steady pace.

African American Architects, Builders, and Developers in Arlington County

Many of the architects, contractors and developers responsible for buildings in Arlington County's black communities were African American. Historically, many blacks in the area came from a tradition of working in the building trades either as enslaved labor or locally employed.[393] Enslaved men often gained experience in the construction of their owners' houses. Though he did not make a career of it, Harry W. Gray, who had been enslaved and worked as a bricklayer at Arlington House, later would build his own brick home in 1881.[394] Other skills, such as plastering and carpentry, were also learned by enslaved laborers on the large, self-sufficient properties. A large number of African Americans in Arlington County also worked at the brickyards along the Potomac River during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[395] With no secondary education

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[390] Ernest E. Johnson, *Playing Ball at Jennie Dean Park*. Ernest E. Johnson Photograph Collection, 1948-1962: Box 1, Series 1, File 1 (Miscellanous Photographs), Arlington Public Library Center for Local History.
[391] Arlington Public Library, "All Work and No Play," (2017), http://library.arlingtonva.us/2011/03/01/all-work-and-no-play/.
[392] "Arlington County Neighborhood Conservation Plans," Arlington County Department of Community Planning, Housing & Development, https://projects.arlingtonva.us/neighborhood-conservation/nc-plan-program/nc-plans/.
[393] Perry, "The Influence of Geography," 75-77.
[394] Hallock, "Harry W. Gray House, National Register of Historic Places Nomination," 8: 5.
[395] County, *A Brief History*.

available to blacks in Arlington County until the 1930s, options for occupation were often limited for African Americans. In many cases, fathers passed down their skills in the building trades to the next generation.[396]

Segregation also created an environment for the African American architects, contractors and developers to build their own communities. Most white-owned companies would not hire the black tradesmen during the Jim Crow era. Furthermore, many of the white contractors, architects, and developers would not work in the African American neighborhoods. Finally, banks and other financial institutions were often reluctant to lend money for development projects or mortgages in the black neighborhoods. These conditions created an environment where blacks helped each other within their own communities – whether it was to build a house, lend money or subdivide land. According to residents "when black people wanted a house built, they needed to hire black contractors to do it."[397]

Census records and oral histories substantiate that a number of African Americans in Arlington County were employed in the building trades and played a key role in the development of their neighborhoods. When used in tandem with historic building permits, a greater understanding of the number of African American builders and architects and the breadth of their work may be gained. Emma Byrnes, a George Washington University student, compiled names of builders and architects listed on permits between 1940 and 1960 in her 2010 paper "A Brief History of Housing in Nauck." Byrnes identified approximately 40 builders and three architects as responsible for the construction of more than 60 buildings in Nauck. The majority of these are listed on permits for only one or two buildings, while others – such as John and George Elliott, John M. Campbell, and architect A.T. Olsan – were involved in a dozen or more buildings in the neighborhood.[398]

The early African American churches typically were built by the members themselves, though Mount Zion Baptist Church hired Felix May to complete its second sanctuary in 1887 on Mount Vernon Boulevard. Judge Winston Brooks, a carpenter, was listed as the builder of the 1908 Gothic-Revival style St. John's Baptist Church on Columbia Pike (demolished 2004). In the construction of Lomax AME Zion Church in 1922, members Thomas West served as the carpenter, Leonard Gray laid the brick, and William Gant poured the foundation for the building at 2704 24th Road South.[399]

Due to their proximity to Washington, D.C. and the housing boom they experienced with the growth of the federal workforce, the black communities of Arlington County also feature the work of several noted African American architects and developers. Some of these were based in Washington, D.C. while others resided in Arlington County. Whether through their high level of design or proliferation of work, these professionals made an impact on the built environment of the county's African American communities.

R.C. Archer

R. C. Archer (1890-1968) was a Washington-based African American architect who was responsible for the design of several African American churches, including Mt. Olive Baptist Church in Queen City in 1939. In 1941, he oversaw its reconstruction at 1601 13th Road South in Arlington View when the congregation was forced to relocate due to the Pentagon construction. Archer also designed the Mount Zion Baptist Church at

[396] Evidence of this appears in early twentieth-century census records, showing the level of education achieved and family members with the same occupations.
[397] Perry, Crew, and Waters, "Residential Patterns in Segregated Arlington," 666.
[398] Emma Byrnes, "Nauck: Architects & Builders, 1940-1960," (Washington, D.C.: George Washington University, 2010).
[399] County, "Guide to the African American Heritage," 29-41.

3500 nineteenth Street South in 1944-1945 and helped other local African Americans get their start, including Edward Leslie Hamm, Sr., discussed below.[400] Born to a plastering contractor and homemaker in Norfolk, Virginia in 1890, Romulus Cornelius Archer, Jr. studied architecture through the International Correspondence School in Scranton, Pennsylvania, before receiving his degree from Columbia University in 1913. In 1921, Archer opened an office in Washington, D.C., where he became the second African American to receive a license to practice architecture.[401]

Sterling H. Harris

Sterling H. Harris, a native of Manassas, Virginia, was a local contractor in Arlington County responsible for the construction of numerous buildings in the county's black communities. Harris was an active member of St. John's Baptist Church where he served on the Board of Trustees. Most notable among the buildings attributed to Harris is Mount Zion Baptist Church, constructed 1944-1945 at 3500 nineteenth Street South.[402]

Albert Irvin Cassell

Albert Irvin Cassell (1895-1969), a prominent African American architect in Washington, D.C., was responsible for the designs of the Paul Dunbar Homes in Nauck and the George Washington Carver Homes in Arlington View in 1944, both of which are no longer extant.[403] A native of Baltimore, Cassell began studying drafting under a Cornell University graduate student, Ralph V. Cook, from 1910 to 1914. He continued training at Ithaca High School, studied architecture in France, after serving as a Commissioned Officer in Heavy Artillery during World War I, and received his degree from Cornell in 1919. After graduation, he worked at Tuskegee Institute with fellow architect William A. Hazel with whom he worked on the Home Economics building at Howard University. Cassell then worked on silk mills and other industrial buildings in 1920 in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

In 1921, Cassell became an assistant professor of architecture at Howard University in Washington, D.C. During his eighteen-year tenure at the university, Cassell was instrumental in designing numerous campus buildings and developing and implementing a master plan for the school's expansion as well as establishing the College of Engineering and Architecture at the university in 1934.

Following his departure from Howard University in 1938, Cassell pursued his interest in developing well-designed, attractive and affordable housing for African Americans. He joined the AIA in 1946 and was registered in D.C., Maryland, and Pennsylvania. After an unsuccessful attempt to develop a planned community for African Americans on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay, Cassell designed several housing projects in Washington, D.C., including the Mayfair Mansion and the James Creek Alley projects. Cassell also worked on Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport and the Pentagon.[404]

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[400] Byrnes, "Nauck: Architects & Builders, 1940-1960."
[401] Dreck Spurlock Wilson, ed. *African American Architects: A Biographical Dictionary, 1865-1945* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
[402] Byrnes, "Nauck: Architects & Builders, 1940-1960."
[403] Ibid.
[404] "Cassell, Albert I. (1895-1969) Aia Records 1946-1965," (Washington, D.C.: The American Institute of Architects); Wilson, *African American Architects*.

William T. and Margarite Syphax

William T. Syphax and his wife, Margarite Reed Syphax, began building homes for friends in the black neighborhoods of Arlington County in 1950. Born in Arlington County, Syphax graduated from Virginia State College and George Washington University before returning in 1947 to work for the U.S. War Department as an electrical engineer. He and Margarite found that in spite of the improved financial situation following World War II, many African Americans were living in overcrowded and substandard housing. The segregated real estate market and reluctance of banks to finance projects in African American neighborhoods made it difficult for blacks to purchase land or obtain mortgages. The Syphaxes committed themselves to improving home ownership and living conditions for blacks in Northern Virginia. They established the W.T. Syphax Management Company in 1950 and the W.T. Syphax Engineering & Construction Company in 1953 with offices at 1327 South Queen Street. During the 1950s, the Syphaxes built approximately 100 homes priced from $14,000 to over $16,000 in Arlington County, including in the neighborhoods of Nauck/Green Valley, Arlington View, Hall's Hill/High View Park, and Highland Park. By the late 1950s, they ventured into the development of apartment complexes, building their first apartment complex, the Arlington View Terrace Apartments. Before retiring in the late 1970s, William and Margarite completed their largest project – the 324-unit Oakland Manor Apartments at Bailey's Crossroads in Fairfax County.[405]

> While the majority of Arlington's merchant builders, including Broyhill, Luria Brothers, and Mace, almost exclusively built subdivisions for white middle-class and white upper-middle-class families, Syphax Construction built for African American families. Syphax Construction… was the largest African American-owned construction company in Arlington County and was the first African American construction company of any size in Northern Virginia… "[D]espite a postwar influx of black government workers who needed decent homes and had the salaries to pay for them, no builders in Northern Virginia were willing or able to construct houses for black buyers in any number. And as Washington's suburbs began their outward spread – with developments of moderately priced houses that were sold almost exclusively to whites – Syphax quickly tired of 'white men legislating my equality.'" … They designed a brick rambler and worked with subcontractors to create copies in Arlington's African American neighborhoods. Syphax Construction was able to arrange construction loans and permanent financing because of the prominence of the Syphax name in the area, when lack of financing limited other African American builders who constructed only a few houses each year.[406]

The Syphax companies were well-known and successful with William T. and Margarite recognized on the local, state, and national level for their commitment to improving housing and home-ownership in the African American communities of Northern Virginia. William served as president of the Virginia Real Estate Brokers Association and was recognized by them as Builder of the Year in 1965. He also served as chairman of the Arlington County Building Code Board of Appeals and worked to connect developers and home buyers with lending institutions. By 1973, the construction company had twelve employees and $5 million in revenue, while the management company employed 20 people with $2 million in revenue.[407] Margarite received the Outstanding Businesswoman Tribute from the National Council of Negro Women in 1974. William was named Outstanding Minority Businessman of the Year in 1975 by the National Council for Small Business

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[405] Richard Pearson, "William Syphax, 68, Retired Developer, Dies," *The Washington Post*, March 6, 1989.
[406] Emily Pettis et al., "A Model for Identifying and Evaluating the Historic Significance of Post-World War Ii Housing," (Washington, D.C.: Transportation Research Board, 2012), 151.
[407] "Chart: The Top 100," *Black Enterprise*, June 1973.

Management Development. Both were named among the top 100 executives in the U.S. and the company was listed in the top 20 in 1974.[408] In 1976, *Black Enterprise* granted them the Achievement Award for their contributions to the construction industry.[409] In the midst of a recession and declining revenue, the Syphaxes retired in the late 1970s.[410]

Edward Leslie Hamm, Sr.

Edward Leslie Hamm, Sr. (1917-2013) and wife, Dorothy Bigelow Hamm (1919-2004), were active residents of the Hall's Hill/High View Park community. In 1979, Hamm served as the architect for renovations to the 1904 Calloway United Methodist Church (5000 Lee Highway) where he was a member of the congregation.[411] A distinguished architect, he graduated from Hampton Institute in 1940 with a degree in building construction before working from 1946 to 1960 in the Washington, D.C. architectural firms of R.C. Archer & Associates and Mills, Petticord & Mills. From 1960 to 1977, Hamm was employed by the U.S. General Services Administration where he worked on the construction of the Kennedy Center and the Federal Triangle. When he retired in 1977, Hamm was Chief Architect and Coordinator for the Professional Service Division and in charge of demonstration projects for environmental enhancement and energy efficiency.[412]

Both Hamms were active advocates for equality in education, neighborhood improvements, and fair housing in Arlington County. As chairman of the Hall's Hill/High View Park Neighborhood Conservation Committee from 1965-1975, Edward Leslie Hamm worked closely with the county to make recommendations for infrastructure improvements and he oversaw the installation of curbs, gutters, and sidewalks in the community. He was also a member of the Board of Directors for the Arlington Interchurch Committee on Housing for Low Income Families; the Arlington Council on Human Relations; the Northern Virginia Fair Housing Association; the County Advisory Board on Health and Welfare; and the NAACP.[413] Dorothy Hamm joined a civil action suit in 1956 with her son, Edward Leslie Hamm, Jr., to integrate Stratford Junior High School, which failed. She successfully challenged the Pupil Placement Act, was arrested for protesting a segregated theater in 1963, served as delegate to Arlington County and the State Convention in 1964, worked with CORE, marched in the 1968 Poor People's March on Washington, and later served as the assistant registrar for the Woodlawn precinct.[414]

Architectural Styles in Arlington's African American Neighborhoods

Representative architectural styles associated with residences in Arlington's African American neighborhoods include the following:

Italianate: A popular style following the Civil War was Italianate, which stayed in favor between 1840 and 1885 during the Romantic movement and even later in vernacular examples. High-style examples are two and

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[408] "Top 100 Chief Executives," *Black Enterprise*, June 1974.
[409] "Advertisement Featuring Margarite Syphax," *Black Enterprise*, November 1978.
[410] "Recession Slows Growth: Largest Black Firms Show Ability to Survive Hard Times," *Black Enterprise*, June 1975; Pearson, "William Syphax, 68, Retired Developer, Dies."
[411] County, "Guide to the African American Heritage," 18.
[412] "Edward Leslie Hamm (1917-2013) Life Legacy," (2013), http://www.hwdabney.com/memsol.cgi?user_id=1033594.
[413] Ibid.
[414] Arlington County, "Stratford School Historic District Designation," (Arlington County Department of Community Planning, Housing & Development, 2015), 9.

three stories with low-pitched hipped roofs and deep eaves with decorative brackets. Townhouse varieties may have seemingly flat roofs with a parapet or oversized cornice and brackets. Windows are tall, narrow, often arched, and have elaborate crowns or pediments with brackets. Wrought iron rails are found around windows as well as porches. The Harry W. Gray House (c. 1881, NRHP 2004) at 1005 S. Quinn Street in Arlington View is the only example of an Italianate dwelling, with slightly clumsy arched lintels, narrow tall double-hung sash windows, and a sloping pitch, "flounder" style roof.

Queen Anne/Folk Victorian: Part of the Victorian movement, the Queen Anne style responded to mass production made possible by the Industrial Revolution and did not draw on specific historical details but combined styles and forms freely. Its complex, vertical forms thrived in residential developments from 1880 to 1910. It was adaptable to all economic levels with flexibility in size, shape, materials, floor plans, and more. Folk Victorian, which combines the volumetric interplay of Queen Anne style with less precise exterior decoration, appears in working-class neighborhoods and includes asymmetrical complex, L-shaped, or gable-front plans, cornice brackets, and porches with spindle work and other mass-produced woodwork brought in by rail. Examples in Nauck include the Folk Victorian-style frame, two-story front-gable dwelling at 1921 S. Langley Street (c. 1910), and the two-story late Queen Anne-style frame dwelling built into the hillside, with a two-story, three-sided projecting gable bay and a large hipped roof dormer vent, at 2707 24th Road South (c. 1929).

Colonial Revival: An architectural style popular in the twentieth century that combines features and forms of classical and American colonial architecture, such as symmetry, simply-proportioned fenestration, and understated appropriation of classical and Renaissance-inspired elements. Houses of this style tend to be and of either brick construction, or frame construction with weatherboard cladding. Forms are side-gable, with regularly-spaced, double-hung wood sash; louvered or paneled window shutters; center- or side-passage entrances with classically-inspired surrounds. Examples of Colonial Revival-style houses in Nauck are 3012 16th Street South, a one-and-a-half-story brick house with a matching front-gable brick garage, and, in Arlington View, 1311 S. Queen Street, a 1930s, brick two-story side-hall plan dwelling that was part of the Southgate Vale residential development.

Gothic Revival: A style that extends to public buildings, schools, and residential buildings, the Gothic Revival is nevertheless most associated with churches. Basic features can include a narrow, steeply-gabled main block pierced by pointed, lancet, or rounded, narrow arch windows on either side of the entrance and along the side elevations; one or two corner towers; an arcade sheltering a principal or secondary entrance; and decorative and/or patterned stained glass. Eighteenth-century British architects and designers rediscovered the Gothic style through their own stone cathedrals, castles, and medieval colleges, and rallied around it as an indigenously English commodity. Americans espoused the style during the nineteenth century Romantic movement, a reaction to the more rectilinear and boxy Greek Revival style. The Gothic Revival underwent several phases in the United States with the Early Gothic Revival's steep gables, decorative milled bargeboards, and monochromatic appearance, followed by the more military-looking Castellated Gothic, and the more vernacular, often wood frame, Carpenter Gothic buildings. Twentieth-century Gothic Revival is less complex and towering than High Victorian Gothic, with plainer exterior surfaces, but, as Arlington's Mount Zion Baptist Church (c. 1945) at 1300 nineteenth Street South shows, contrasting exterior details such as the delineating cast-stone coursework, buttress caps, and arch blocks against the red brick coursework, are Gothic Revival-style features common to mid-twentieth-century churches. In Arlington View, Mount Olive Baptist Church (c. 1942) at 1601 13th Road South features a polychromatic coursed stone exterior with contrasting lancet-arched

windows and a small arcaded entrance as well as paired towers, one of which retains its pyramidal tin roof and finial.

Commercial: This style is an umbrella-type classification, covering many different types of buildings that share one defining function, that of existing to service consumers whether through providing goods or non-tangible amenities. They can be as small as the Friendly Cab Company (c. 1947), located within Nauck's commercial district at 3022 2nd Street South, or a two-story masonry building such as Chinn's Funeral Home (c. 1960) at 2605 Shirlington Road. Commercial buildings are driven by their own specific functions, which can relate to style, as in the case of early-to-mid-twentieth-century banks espousing Classical Revival or Colonial Revival style, with the perception that such style connoted stability. But other types of commercial buildings are not as dependent upon style for their function and success. This is discussed more fully within the Commercial Buildings' property type.

Craftsman: Like the Prairie style, Craftsman style (1905-1930) originated in America. Developed by Charles and Henry Greene in California and popularized by Gustav Stickley's prescriptive publications and house designs, the Craftsman style rejected the ornate in favor of simplicity and Japanese influences. Most often applied to the bungalow and foursquare, it employs one-and-a-half or two-and-a-half stories; low-pitched, gabled roof (side, front, hipped, or cross) with wide, unenclosed eave overhang; usually exposed roof rafters; decorative braces; incised porches; and unlike the square piers in vernacular Prairie applications, tapered square columns typically extend to the ground or short square columns on tapered base. Large companies like Montgomery-Ward and Sears Roebuck & Company, combined with building companies like Michigan's Aladdin Homes, seized upon mass-produced elements and designs in promoting and distributing prefabricated "houses by mail" to the middle and working classes. As with Queen Anne-style house designs. plans and building elements could be sent to customers via the railroads. Arlington View has an unusual type of front-gable Craftsman bungalow (1009, 1022, and 1103 S. Rolfe Street) with a gabled porch roof combining a V-shape roofline known as a "butterfly roof." A more traditional type of Craftsman-style bungalow is the one-and-a-half-story frame and concrete stucco dwelling at 2707 24th Road South in Nauck. Then, the Birdie Alston House at 2106 N. Edison Street in Hall's Hill is a brick, front-gable 1930s Craftsman style house whose regular fenestration and lack of exterior details anticipates the simpler features of Minimal Traditional style.

Minimal Traditional: The economic climate of the Depression and the creation of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) in 1934 had a major impact on the design of housing and planning of communities. With limited resources and newly established FHA guidelines, individual and corporate home builders began to construct much smaller and simpler houses than the previous generation. FHA created housing and planning standards, real estate appraisal guidelines, and developed a program for approving subdivisions for mortgage insurance. Minimal Traditional houses, often called Cape Cods, tend to be one or one-and-a-half stories and have concrete block or poured concrete foundations, frame construction, a mixture of brick and aluminum siding or stucco in dry climates, and low- or medium-pitched roofs side- or cross-gabled with a prominent chimney. The fenestration often consists of fixed picture windows and double-hung windows with two-over-two horizontal panes, and the doors are flush panel with small windows though they sometimes have more traditional paneling carried over from the Colonial Revival styles. Stoops, with or without hoods, replace front porches. Garages are usually separate and positioned cater-corner to the house in the back yard. There are no alleys. Lomax A.M.E. Zion Church's parsonage at 2706 24th Road South, constructed in 1951, is a textbook example of a brick Minimal Traditional-style Cape Cod house, given its less elaborate decoration; a low-pitched roof; front-gable dormers; prominent center-bay stoop entrance; and symmetrically-placed double-hung sash windows.

Ranch: First built during the 1920s in the western United States, the Ranch style became popular in subdivisions and rural areas after World War II through the 1970s. It was influenced by southwestern pueblo designs and the Prairie style, with simple modern features and low-slung, rambling elements that took advantage of innovative technology and Modernist aesthetics. Builders adapted FHA-approved minimalist houses into Ranch-like houses by incorporating asymmetrical plans and features, sliding windows and doors, picture windows, broad chimneys, and exterior terraces or patios. Variations of the ranch house plan and Ranch style remained popular through the 1970s. Nauck has several examples of Ranch houses, including a 1957 brick ranch whose entrance is tucked within a projecting gabled stoop at 2705 nineteenth Street South. Among the ranch houses within Arlington View is a spacious brick and stone 1960 raised ranch at 1009 S. Quinn Street, its name defined by a full-height basement story, visible from the street, that incorporates two garage bays.

F. ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

National Register of Historic Places Criteria for Evaluation

The criteria for evaluating whether properties are eligible for the National Register of Historic Places are set forth in 36 CFR Part 60:

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association and:

A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or

B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or

C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:

a. A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or

b. A building or structure removed from its original location but which is significant primarily for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or

c. A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no other appropriate site or building directly associated with his productive life; or

d. A cemetery that derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, for age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or

e. A reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other

building or structure with the same association has survived; or

f. A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance; or

g. A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

The identification and analysis of property types are important elements in determining whether a property meets National Register Criteria. Understanding specific property types assists in determining how specific properties meet those standards. Property type analysis assists in determining what associative and physical characteristics a resource should have and guides expectation about the typical condition of a property.

Property Types Associated with African American Resources in Arlington County

Historic resources associated with African Americans in Arlington County are divided into nine categories, each of which has a separate Period of Significance (POS). The number of resources potentially eligible for inclusion in the National Register discussed below are in parenthesis. These numbers do not reflect the number of resources that may ultimately be listed under this MPD as research, survey, and redevelopment continues in Arlington County in the future. These resource types have been selected because they represent known African American resources types surveyed between the 1960s and the present-day, which are extant in Arlington County. Residential buildings built, owned, or occupied by African Americans represent most of the 604 resources surveyed during the 2016-2017 survey of African American resources in the county.

Historic Districts (4 within 3 neighborhoods)
Residential Buildings (7)
Commercial Buildings (6)
Educational Resources: Schools (3)
Civic Resources (4)
Sites of Recreation and Entertainment (3)
Objects (1)
Structure (1)
Churches (3)
Cemeteries (2)
Historic Archaeological Sites (3)

Extant historic properties associated with Arlington County's African American heritage represent the period between the late-eighteenth Early National era through the mid-twentieth-century Civil Rights Movement with the greatest concentration dating after Reconstruction. During the height of the development of these resources, African Americans were discriminated against by bank lenders, legally restricted from buying the vast majority of land within the county, and provided with less public land and funding for civic resources such as schools and parks. In appearance, the physical form and style of resources – churches, schools, and houses – in the black community differed little from similar types in the white community; however, the scale, quality of material, and ornamentation of such buildings were often inferior due to these factors. Where white communities had a wide variety of structures and zones with specialized uses, black communities created more multi-use spaces such as dwellings that housed businesses and churches that hosted non-denominational schools and community meetings.

Alterations to these places and buildings represent the African American community's adaptive response to their social and political restrictions. A substantial body of historic and contemporary sociological scholarship has demonstrated how African Americans adapt institutions and relationships to serve their needs. Historical scholarship details the extent to which blacks created an environment that counteracted the exclusionary world created by segregation. Deprived of political representation, African Americans created their own systems to translate political, cultural, and social ideals into reality. In place of political systems, they established institutional systems based on churches, schools, and fraternal organizations. Moreover, without the more formal relationships established within a political system, personal relationships nurtured within these institutions became the foundation of the community. Building use, therefore, goes well beyond the purpose for which the building was originally designed. Consequently, oral history and archaeology often provide valuable insight into how buildings, settlements, and structures functioned.[415]

Name of Property Type: Historic Districts

Description

Historic Districts represent communities established by or for African Americans in Arlington County between 1865 and 1967 – the Green Valley/Nauck, Hall's Hill/High View Park, Johnson's Hill/Arlington View, and Penrose neighborhoods are extant examples. Developed during Reconstruction, the Jim Crow Era, and the Civil Rights Movement, these communities are scattered across the county as no major urban centers developed in Arlington until the twentieth century. Due to deed restrictions and discriminatory real estate practices, the boundaries of these communities are distinct. Each historically black neighborhood contained its own churches, schools, stores, and social, sororal, or fraternal organizations. Many African Americans in Arlington were carpenters and builders, thus most buildings were constructed by their owners or other community members rather than by architects or outside developers. One exception is the churches that were designed by architects in the popular revival styles of the early twentieth century. Another exception is some of c. 1930s-1950s subdivisions extending from nineteenth-century neighborhoods.

Constraints on the expansion of the black neighborhoods continued in the mid-twentieth century as the county's population increased dramatically, creating intense development pressure, an associated increase in property values, and dense infill or complete redevelopment. This situation has resulted in a range of lot and house sizes as well as property values, compared to a typical white neighborhood with standard lot sizes and a relatively homogenous pattern of houses similar in size and value. In addition to the density, the neighborhoods were characterized by a diversity of housing types. Any block on a given street in Green Valley/Nauck or Hall's Hill/High View Park and, to a lesser extent, Johnson's Hill/Arlington View and Penrose may contain a variety of houses in terms of date of construction, size, style, material, and general condition. The predominant style for all new residential construction following World War II was the Minimal Traditional style with its simple form and detailing.

Most residences in the neighborhoods are detached or semi-detached, single-family dwellings. Houses are often renovated, enlarged by additions, or sometimes replaced by the owner, as one could afford. Representative architectural styles associated with Arlington's African American residential districts may include vernacular variations of Italianate, Queen Anne/Folk Victorian, Colonial Revival, Craftsman, Minimal Traditional, and Ranches as previously discussed in Section E: Architectural Styles in Arlington's African American

[415] Betty Byrd, "African American Historic Resources of Prince George's County, Maryland, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation," (Washington, D.C.: Betty Bird & Associates, 2005).

Neighborhoods. Most of these buildings are of frame, brick, or concrete block construction, with a few residences built of stone. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, many of these houses are being replaced by much larger neo-traditional structures.

Nauck comprises a portion of the bottom land along Four Mile Run, then rises up a series of steep slopes, traversed by its principal north-south thoroughfares of Shirlington Road, Glebe Road, and Walter Reed Drive. West of Glebe Road, Nauck's older neighborhoods are located along South Kenmore, Lowell, Langley, Lincoln, and Monroe streets; East of Glebe Road, the Nauck subdivision of Fairview, extending from 16th Road South to 21st Road South, has streets more in a grid format. Then, development between 23rd Street South to 27th Street South along Shirlington Road has had many modern intrusions, but the neighborhood retains the character of a mid-twentieth-century African American neighborhood, particularly with the cluster of commercial, ecclesiastical, and residential buildings on 24th Road South between South Glebe Road and Shirlington Road. Postwar development, with ranch houses, duplexes, and garden apartments, is prevalent west of S. Walter Reed Drive, along South Oakland, South Pollard, and lower S. Lincoln streets. Most lots are narrow and not very deep. There are few mature trees along Nauck's streetscapes, except in the area around South Langley and South Kenmore and South Lowell streets near Mount Zion Baptist church. Trees in the neighborhood include oaks, pines, and gums; smaller flowering trees, such as dogwoods and crape myrtles, were planted between 20 and 30 years ago. With their development on steep terraces, many houses have retaining walls along their property lines. Some walls are brick, but most are concrete block, rubble stone, or an aggregate from broken-up concrete. On either side of Glebe, Nauck displays an eclectic range of housing. A circa-1920s Craftsman bungalow can be followed by a brick Cape Cod, then a couple of infills, and a ranch. In East Nauck, 18th Street South has several 1940s-1950s Minimal Traditional houses, frame bungalows, and Contemporary-style 1960s-70s houses. 19th Street South also had an interesting cross-section of 1920s-50s houses, particularly two brick, two-story Minimal Traditional dwellings. The 1900-2000 block of S. Fillmore Street retains a few 1950s-60s ranches and Minimal Traditional-style houses, built for middle-class African Americans, alongside 1990s-2000s infill.

With a commercial center located along the spine of US 29 (Lee Highway), Hall's Hill/High View Park has a comparable streetscape to Nauck's, in that the neighborhood also consists of steep hills and streets with irregular gridwork, notably winding North Edison Street and the broken cross-streets of 18th Street North and 17th Road South. Residential lots are mostly narrow, some approximately 120 feet deep by sixty feet wide. Building styles in the neighborhood include Queen Anne/Folk Victorian, Colonial Revival, Commercial Style, Craftsman, Minimal Traditional, Contemporary, and Ranch houses seen in buildings primarily of frame and brick construction. although some stone construction is extant. There are few shade trees located along Hall's Hill's streetscapes, except closer to High View Park and the Woodlawn subdivision, where remnants of the circa-1937 Segregation Wall are still in evidence. Hall's Hill is home to two of Arlington's most historic African American churches, Calloway United Methodist Church and Mount Salvation Baptist Church, both of which were rebuilt in the last forty years.

Arlington View's residences include Italianate, Queen Anne, Colonial Revival, Craftsman, Minimal Traditional, Contemporary, and Commercial style buildings composed of all manner of materials; in the past twenty years, Transitional-style residences are increasingly built in Arlington View, almost always on either empty lots or in the stead of demolished houses. Residential lots are uniform for the most part with some variance of sizes, the average lot measuring fifty feet by ninety feet. The neighborhood is contained with no streets intersecting with other neighborhoods, and its environs bounded by the Army-Navy Country Club to its south and southeast; I-395 to its east; Columbia Pike to its north; and multi-unit tenement housing beyond S. Rolfe Street's west lots'

westernmost perimeter. The streets are laid out in an irregular grid pattern, the principal thoroughfares being S. Queen Street, S. Rolfe Street, and S. Quinn Street from north to south, and 12th Street South and 13th Road South as the neighborhood's through east-west connectors. Because Arlington View developed over several decades, between Harry Gray's property west of S. Queen Street, and various development schemes such as William T. Syphax's cul-de-sac lot off S. Queen Street and Southgate Vale, a 1930s-1960s development scheme on the east side of S. Queen Street, there are some variations in streetscapes, lot configurations, and concentrations of particular building styles and forms, particularly extant Minimal Traditional-style dwellings. Multiple housing units are located for the most part at the edges of Arlington View; there is a 1980s townhouse development at the neighborhood's northeast boundary, and 1960s apartments and small garden apartments sited at the southwest edge. One garden apartment complex, the George Washington Carver Homes, was located in the center of Arlington View, bounded by 12th Street South and 13th Road South to its north and south, and S. Rolfe and S. Queen streets to its west and east. These apartments were torn down in 2016, with transitional Neo-Eclectic style three-story townhouses taking their place in 2017. There are few mature shade trees lining Arlington View's streetscapes but there are lighting fixtures throughout.

When Penrose was nominated to the National Register, styles included Italianate, Queen Anne, Colonial Revival, Tudor Revival, Commercial Style, Craftsman, and Moderne in buildings composed of all manner of materials.

> The residential lots vary in size, with the standard lot measuring approximately fifty feet by 100 feet. The streets run in a slightly irregular grid pattern between Arlington Boulevard, Columbia Pike, South Fillmore Street, and South Courthouse Road. Because the neighborhood developed over time through an amalgamation of different subdivisions, there are slight variations in the streetscapes and lot configurations. Mature shade trees and decorative lighting fixtures line many of the streets. A landscaped median defines the wide avenue of Sixth Street South. Penrose, while primarily a single-family residential neighborhood, is also home to a number of multiple dwellings, a church, commercial development along Columbia Pike, and two landscaped parks, including Penrose Park and Butler-Holmes Park, named after the neighborhood's founders.[416]

Significance

The African American communities in Arlington County illustrate efforts by blacks to progress from a repressed society dominated by slavery to the establishment of self-sufficient communities where they were free to own property, gather to worship, attend school, and earn a living in spite of racial discrimination. Freedman's Village, established during the Civil War by the federal government for contraband slaves, served as the origin of most African American communities in Arlington County. Planned to be a self-sufficient community, Freedman's Village consisted of dwellings, churches, a school, stores, and a hospital.

With the closing of Freedman's Village in the late nineteenth century, its residents relocated to areas where land was either owned by an African American or by a white developer willing to sell land to blacks. Typically, the church was one of the first buildings to be established in the new community with members of its congregation purchasing lots to build houses around the church. The establishment of a school soon followed with classes often held in the church sanctuary or fraternal halls until a school could be built. Stores and home-based businesses also developed to provide goods and services to the community.

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[416] Hallock and Trieschmann, "Penrose Historic District," 7: 1.

By 1900, there were at least 12 African American neighborhoods or settlements scattered across the county.[417] As segregation policies excluded blacks from the surrounding white communities, these African American neighborhoods developed in relative isolation during the first 50 years. As Arlington County rapidly transformed into a suburb of Washington, D.C., the dramatic increase in population, development pressures, and increased property values led to the demise of a number of the African American neighborhoods, as residents sold their homes and relocated to other black enclaves.[418] Additionally, several black communities were demolished with the construction of the Pentagon and its road network in the early 1940s.[419] As noted, Green Valley/Nauck, Hall's Hill/High View Park, Johnson's Hill/Arlington View, and Penrose are the only historically black neighborhoods that survive in Arlington County.

Registration Requirements

In order to qualify for register listing as a historic district, the resource should represent a community established by African Americans in Arlington County between 1865 and 1967. The historic district should consist of a cohesive group of resources built, owned or occupied by African Americans and include a full complement of building types to represent the residential, commercial (where existing), religious, educational and social life (where still extant) of a self-sufficient community. The historic district must possess architectural or historical significance related to the history of African American communities in Arlington County between 1865 and 1967. Additionally, a majority of the resources in the district must be at least 50 years of age and possess sufficient physical integrity to contribute to the district in order for it to represent the period in which it gains significance.

A historic district may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A for their association with the efforts of African Americans to establish their own self-sufficient communities as they faced great challenges and opportunities during segregation and the Civil Rights Movement.

A historic district may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B if it is associated with an African American or group of African Americans of transcendent importance in Arlington County who contributed to the development of the community or lived in the community while achieving something of significance.

A historic district may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C for significance in architecture and community planning as the buildings built, owned and/or occupied by African Americans represent a cohesive and identifiable district that reflects the daily activities, building traditions, and societal conditions under which the community developed. Overall, the district's buildings, structures, objects, and sites—residential, commercial, ecclesiastical, educational, civic, and otherwise—should "represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction."[420]

The following districts related to themes within the MPD were previously listed in the NRHP:

[417] Perry, "The Influence of Geography," 5.
[418] Ibid., 58-59.
[419] Ibid., 64.
[420] National Register of Historic Places, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, 1998).

- Arlington House Historic District, Robert E. Lee Memorial (NRHP 1966, 1980, 2014), sited within Arlington National Cemetery and roughly bounded by National Park Service land and woodland owned by the Department of the Army, has one discontiguous site, the Custis Burial Plot, located 1,100 feet southwest of Arlington House, which is owned by the U. S. Department of Defense. Eligible under Criteria A, B, C, and D, the district's historic period of significance extends from 1802 to 1935 and is significant in the areas of architecture, landscape architecture, military, politics/government, historic preservation, and black ethnic heritage. This resource may illustrate individuals' lives during the repressive time of slavery or they may reflect the desire of African Americans to own their own property following emancipation and provide for themselves during segregation. Arlington House has two surviving dependencies, the North Slave Quarter and Kitchen (c. 1803-1818) and the South Slave Quarters (c. 1810), which also incorporated a storehouse and smokehouse.[421] Previously listed within the Arlington House Historic District, the Slave Quarters, which are two one-story Greek Revival-style buildings constructed of brick with a stucco finish, are anomalous to the typically humble housing for enslaved African Americans.

- Penrose Historic District (NRHP 2004), roughly bounded by Arlington Boulevard, South Courthouse Road, South Fillmore Street, South Barton Street, 2nd Street South, and Columbia Pike. Eligible under Criteria A and C, the district "has a period of significance extending from 1882 to 1954 and is significant in the areas of architecture, community planning/development, and African American ethnic heritage. Penrose is recognized for its association with prominent African Americans, including former Freedman's Village residents and local leaders William H. Butler, Henry Louis Holmes, and Dr. Charles Drew.[422]

- Fort Myer Historic District (NHL 1972, NRHP 1974), between Arlington Blvd. and U.S. Highway 50. The 1974 boundary is based on an assessment of the history and architecture of Fort Myer without consideration of most twentieth-century additions or mention of African American heritage. A 1998 Historic Landscape Inventory recommends a boundary increase, noting, "The Lower Post contains a number of significant buildings… associated with the Signal Corps' aviation activity and… the famous Machine Gun Troop of the 10th Cavalry."[423] The African American troop occupied Building 305 in the Lower Post. Considering the date of the HLI report, this area would require reevaluation. In addition, other multi-use buildings, including a chapel, may be re-evaluated due to age and importance as meeting places for African Americans.

The following districts may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPD:

- Green Valley/Nauck. Due to recent redevelopment, Nauck does not represent one cohesive historic district but may be nominated as two distinct areas anchored by historic churches.

    - Mt. Zion Neighborhood: East and West Sides of 1900-2000 S. Langley Street, East and West Sides of 1900 S. Lowell Street, bounded by twentieth Street South (South) and nineteenth Street South (North). This proposed district includes a concentration of older extant dwellings in Nauck's Mt. Zion Baptist Church neighborhood.

[421] Smith, "Arlington House Historic District."
[422] Hallock and Trieschmann, "Penrose Historic District," 8: 99.
[423] Batzli, "Fort Myer, Virginia: Historic Landscape Inventory," 60.

- Shirlington Neighborhood: North and South Sides of 24th Road South, bounded to east by E. boundaries of Lomax A.M.E. Zion Church and 2707 24th Road South, to west by E. Side Shirlington Road, including the Green Valley Pharmacy, extending to 24th Street South along Shirlington Road. This includes commercial, residential, and religious resources within lower Nauck.

- Johnson's Hill/Arlington View, Mt. Olive Baptist Church and Hoffman-Boston Neighborhood: East and West sides of S. Queen Street, south of its intersection with 13th Road South to the south termination of S. Queen Street. Then, north of this section along S. Queen Street, the North and South sides of 13th Road South, and South side of 13th Street South, to end of streets at fence/overgrowth (I-395); this would include Pierce and Poe streets, which run north-south between 13th Street South and 13th Road South. Two extensions into the west area of Arlington View would first be at S. Queen Street and 13th Street South, where boundary extends west to pick up group of 1940s Syphax-built houses in a cul-de-sac (1700, 1701, 1704, 1705, 1707, 1708 13th Street South). The second extension into Arlington View's neighborhood west of S. Queen Street would run west from S. Queen Street's intersection with 14th Street South, then to the north and south sides of 14th Street South, terminating at the street's west cul-de-sac. The third extension would cross west from S. Queen Street to the north and south sides of 12th Street South, running west to its intersection with S. Rolfe Street, then north on S. Rolfe Street, covering east and west blockfaces, to just south of Columbia Pike at 1001 S. Rolfe Street.

  This proposed district in Arlington View would include Hoffman-Boston School, Carver Community Center, and Mt. Olive Baptist Church, plus the Evelyn Reid Syphax House (presently non-contributing, constructed c. 1973), and several of the neighborhood's stronger examples of twentieth century architecture. It would, for the most part, avoid the visual intrusion of the new townhome community now on the site of George Washington Carver Homes.

- Hall's Hill/High View Park. Based on the 2017 survey of a few representative properties associated with locally significant people and a more widespread survey by EHT Traceries in 2012, this historic district may be eligible for listing under criteria A, B, and C. According to the 2012 surveyor assessment, the area, which was settled shortly after the close of the Civil War, "remains one of the few surviving African American communities in Arlington County, with residents tracing their roots back for many generations" and a number of dwellings retaining a high degree of integrity. Notably, the neighborhood includes Calloway United Methodist Church, Fire Station No. 8, several houses built by W.T. Syphax Real Estate, and the locally landmarked Segregation Wall built by white residents in a neighboring subdivision.

Setting and Location

Historic districts considered for listing in the National Register should be located within the geographic boundaries of Arlington County. The district should include a cohesive collection of resources, including buildings, objects and sites, connected by a system of streets that are identified with the establishment of a community by African Americans. The boundaries of the district should be defined by the historic boundaries of the community with modifications made for modern intrusions, such as divisive roadways or extensive demolition and/or new construction. In the event that a historic district includes individual properties previously listed, or identified as eligible for listing, in the National Register, such properties will add to the significance of the district.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship

Historic districts considered for eligibility may contain resources of any type of design, workmanship or materials that reflect the efforts of African Americans to establish their own community between 1863 and 1967. The district may include buildings with alterations or additions that reflect changes over time, as long as those changes convey the period in which the district achieved its significance. Building materials during the period of significance include wood siding, brick, concrete block, concrete stucco, stone, asbestos shingles, and permastone. Aluminum siding, in use since the mid-twentieth century, could arguably be considered historic if it has remained on the building for over 50 years and not adversely impacted fenestration or form. Replacement vinyl siding, where present, should be such that the building's original fenestration and form are discernible at its main block and original extensions, and do not cover exterior design features that identify the building's architectural style, such as brick chimneys, or decorative brick or stone features. Windows during the period of significance included double-hung, casement, and fixed wood sash, with metal casement and fixed sash, glass jalousie windows, and aluminum and glass hopper windows in the mid-twentieth century; however, original windows are a rare find, and appropriate replacement windows or doors that does not alter the building's appearance during the period of significance should be considered. Workmanship and design should be such that the building's original fenestration and form are discernible at its main block, and additions after the period of significance are not disproportionate and do not overwhelm it.

Feeling and Association

A historic district must be associated historically with a community established by African Americans in Arlington County between 1863 and 1967. The resources that comprise the district should reflect the efforts of African Americans to build a self-sufficient community in which they could own their own property, worship at their own churches, attend school, provide for themselves and earn a living, as well as gather to socialize and enjoy recreation during a period of great challenges and opportunities associated with segregation and the Civil Rights Movement. As described in National Register Bulletin 15, the characteristic of feeling is "a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time," resulting from cumulative features that convey the property's unique character and place it within its historic context. The closely-related aspect of association is "the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property," such as intact physical features that enable the viewer to make the connection between the resource and its associated historic character. Feeling and association alone cannot support a resource's eligibility; one or more additional aspects of integrity must be present. Thus, any resources must be historically associated with African Americans present in Arlington County in the period of significance, and must provide important information on significant historic events, or the lives of Arlington's African Americans in a manner that contributes to our understanding of the county's history and development.

Name of Property Type: Residential Buildings

Description

Residential buildings may be individual properties that are either single-family or multiple-family dwellings; a secondary resource associated with a larger property; or a group of residences that constitute a neighborhood. Dwellings built to house enslaved persons are the oldest sub-type and are included, although the only known extant quarters are located at Arlington House, the Robert E. Lee Memorial and are an anomaly.

A handful of dwellings on large lot survive from the Reconstruction and early Jim Crow eras within the four historically black communities. Individual residences, such as the Dr. Charles R. Drew House (NRHP/NHL 1976) and the Dr. Sumner G. Holmes House in Penrose, survive from the early twentieth-century, as does the Harry W. Gray House (Local District 1984/VLR 2003/NRHP 2004) in Arlington View and some dwellings scattered throughout Nauck. A concentration of early twentieth-century, one- and two-story frame dwellings are in the neighborhood surrounding Mt. Zion Baptist Church (1914, 1921, 1925, 1932 S. Langley Street; 1931, 1941, and 1946 S. Lowell Street), ranging from Folk Victorian and American Foursquare to vernacular; this is one small area retaining a sense of place despite more modern building infill.

Pre-World War I lots and houses are typically larger with greater setbacks and post-World War II lots and houses are much smaller. Typically, residential buildings are one or two stories in height and built of either frame or masonry construction. The variety of styles employed is discussed in Section E. In some instances, builders such as W.T. Syphax Engineering and Construction Company had a favorite model or signature technique. Syphax in particular frequently built Ramblers and Minimal Traditional-style houses, a group of which survive on a cul-de-sac in Arlington View west of S. Queen Street (1700-1708 13th Street South). A typical example follows:

> This one-story, three-bay single-family dwelling is an example of the Modern Movement with a minimal traditional form. The dwelling is composed of a side-gabled main block, with a front-gabled projection and one-story porch on the façade. This concrete block structure, set on a solid foundation, is faced with six-course, Flemish-bond brick. Asphalt shingles cover the side-gabled roof, which is accented with overhanging eaves and raking board. A large, exterior-side brick chimney rises from the east (side) elevation and has a plain cap. An exterior-rear brick chimney rises from the south elevation and also has a plain cap.
>
> A front-gabled projection extends from the westernmost bay of the façade (north elevation) and is original. The projection has the material treatment of the main block and is fenestrated with a sash window over a rowlock brick sill. The eastern half of the front-gabled projection forms an integral porch, sheltering the single-leaf, wood door with lights on the main block. A thin metal post rises from the northeast corner of the stoop to support the roof. A one-story, three-bay porch extends from the façade of the main block and is set on a solid brick foundation. The metal awning roof is supported by thin metal posts. Metal balusters finish the porch.[424]

As many African Americans operated home-based businesses, their residences may include features such as a secondary entrance, storefront, workspace, or signage – associated with this commercial aspect of the building's use. Finally, because many African Americans came from an agricultural background, their residential properties may include outbuildings or other site features, such as a chicken coop or garden, that continue this tradition of self-sustenance.

Typically designed by architects after 1940, the scale, design, and construction of garden-style apartments deviated from the local building traditions. As part of their financing, the FHA developed standards for the design and construction of these projects. Because of this new, standardized approach, the physical appearance of these residential resources relate more to their funding source and period of construction than specifically to their occupation by African Americans.

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[424] Mary Ruffin Hanbury of Hanbury Preservation Consulting observed in field notes for S. Queen Street, August 2016.

Significance

Residential buildings built and/or occupied by African Americans in Arlington County are significant as the most prevalent building type associated with blacks in the county. These resources illustrate the daily life, with its challenges and successes, of African Americans in Arlington County from the late nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century. Following the Civil War, Arlington County landowners John Nauck and Bazil Hall rented land and houses to African Americans, some of whom had formerly been enslaved on their very properties. Residential buildings associated with African Americans in Arlington County reflected the desire of blacks to own their own property and determine their own future. As the twentieth century commenced and available land for ownership was limited to where land was either previously owned by blacks or where white owners were willing to sell to blacks, African Americans built their houses in concentrated areas and developed their own communities in a segregated society. The houses they built illustrate the lives they led, including the size of their families, their evolving economic status, their challenges and accomplishments, and their ability to provide for themselves. Typically built either by their owners or with the help of their neighbors, the houses occupied by African Americans in Arlington County illustrate the long tradition of blacks working in the building trades as well as the difficulties in procuring outside financing. The smaller size of the houses and their lots also reflect the limited availability of land due to deed restrictions and discriminatory real estate practices during the Jim Crow era. In many cases, African Americans operated businesses out of their homes during a time when segregation necessitated that blacks provide their own goods and services within their own communities. These home-based businesses required less financial investment at a time when obtaining outside financing was difficult.

By the 1940s, the development of residential properties illustrates the severe housing shortage as the federal government had increased its workforce and Arlington County became a suburb of Washington, D.C. This housing shortage was even greater for the African American population as the construction of the Pentagon and its associated network of roads demolished several black communities through eminent domain; in 1942, the government established trailer camps, first in Arlington View then in Nauck, to address the number of displaced residents. The housing shortage and associated increase in property value further constricted the African American communities. Many of the early settlements disappeared through gentrification and most of the early houses built by blacks were replaced. In the African American communities that survived, lots continued to be subdivided and houses were renovated or replaced as their owners became more affluent but were still limited as to where they could live. The introduction of garden apartment complexes in the 1940s represented the federal government's more sustainable response to the housing shortage. The FHA-financed projects set a minimum standard for design, living accommodations, and quality of construction for the first time. While African American architects, developers, and contractors, such as the W.T. Syphax Engineering and Construction Company and architect Albert Irvin Cassell, developed and designed several large apartment complexes, the scale of these projects also began to attract investment from people outside the black communities.

Registration Requirements

In order for a dwelling to be listed individually or as a contributing resource to a historic district in the National Register, an extant building should be constructed, owned, or occupied by African Americans for residential purposes in Arlington County between 1802 and 1967. The residential property may be part of a larger community and listed as a contributing resource to a historic district or it may be listed individually in the National Register. The resource must possess sufficient physical integrity under a majority of the following

criteria—location, setting, design, workmanship, and materials—to complete the criteria of feeling, and association. Which criteria establish the resource's integrity may vary, depending upon the resource. For example, Dr. Roland Bruner's house and clinic, a brick Colonial Revival-style building constructed c. 1934 at 2018 South Glebe Road, was moved a short distance to its new site in 2005, where it received a new foundation and some exterior alterations including replacement windows, thus impacting its integrity of location, setting, materials, and workmanship. Its setting was also altered by becoming part of a townhome complex, where before it had stood alone. However, the form of the building and its exterior features remain identifiable as Bruner's former residence and clinic, therefore adequately retaining its integrity of materials and workmanship while strongly maintaining its integrity of design, feeling, and association.

A dwelling may be eligible for listing under Criterion A if it was built and/or occupied by African Americans in Arlington County as it may illustrate lives during the repressive time of slavery or reflect the desire of African Americans to own their own property following emancipation. A dwelling may be eligible for listing under Criterion A for its association with a significant event in the history of African Americans in Arlington County, such as a meeting place for desegregation efforts or integrated gatherings during the Civil Rights Movement.

A dwelling may be eligible for listing under Criterion B if it is associated with local African Americans and whites heavily involved in the community from Reconstruction to the Civil Rights Movement.

The following residential buildings significant under Criterion A may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPD:

- Washington/Torreyson Farm House (c. 1879), 1600 N. Lexington St (Local Historic District 2010); potentially built by African American couple James and Matilda Washington

Residential properties in Arlington County may also be eligible for individual listing under Criterion B for their association with a specific individual whose leadership in the community or personal and professional accomplishments may warrant special recognition. For register listing under this criterion, it is important that the property be directly associated with the person during the time they achieve significance, or the dwelling is the only extant property now connected with the person. Examples of such properties identified include:

The following residential buildings related to Criterion B themes within the MPD were previously listed in the NRHP:

- Dr. Charles R. Drew House, (c. 1900) 2505 1st Street S. (NHL 1976/NRHP 1976); leader in medical research of blood plasma

The following residential buildings significant under Criterion B may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPD:

- Rev. Arthur W. Walls House, (c. 1951) 2706 24th Road S. Pastor of Lomax AME Zion Church in 1961; Drew School PTA President; Member, Nauck Citizens Association Special Committee on Schools.

- Dr. Roland Bruner House and Clinic (1934), 2012 South Glebe Road; longtime community leader and doctor who provided healthcare to African Americans when hospitals were segregated and delivered babies because black women were not allowed in maternity wards.

- William H. Butler House (c. 1882), 2407 2nd Street S.; late nineteenth-century landowner and developer

- Dr. John B. Johnson House (c. 1925), 2317 2nd Street S.; longtime physician at Freedman's Hospital, 1940s-

- Barbara S. Marx House (c. 1935), 6897 Washington Boulevard; white citizen heavily involved in the Civil Rights Movement, including school integration; held office in the local NAACP; wrote social justice literature; and was featured in national African American publication, *Jet* magazine.

- Edward Leslie Hamm and Dorothy Bigelow Hamm House (1950), 1900 N. Cameron St.; architect, etc. See previous note about contacting his daughter Carmela who currently owns it.

Residential properties may also be eligible for individual listing under Criterion C for significance in architecture. The following residential building was previously listed in the NRHP and is locally designated, but may be amended to explore themes within the MPD:

- Harry W. Gray House (c. 1881), 1005 South Quinn Street (Local Historic District 1984, NRHP 2004)

Apartment buildings financed by the FHA or other developers in Arlington County may be eligible for listing under Criteria A and C for their significance in the development of a new building type with a standardized design that responded to the housing shortage in Arlington County and the need for adequate and affordable housing for African Americans. Many of these resources have been identified and evaluated as part of the Garden Apartments in Arlington, Virginia Multiple Property Documentation Form (NRHP 2011). Resources of this type that relate to African Americans in Arlington County include one apartment complex that was developed by the W.T. Syphax Construction Company. The following residential building significant under Criteria A and C may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPD:

- Arlington View Terrace Apartments (c. 1961), 1429 S. Rolfe Street

Setting and Location

Dwellings should be located within the geographic boundaries of Arlington County. These resources may be in residential or commercial areas and may or may not be within the identified boundaries of the African American communities of Green Valley/Nauck, Hall's Hill/High View Park, Johnson's Hill/Arlington View, or Penrose. If located within one of these historic African American neighborhoods, its relationship to that community may strengthen its significance.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship

Dwellings must be extant and may be constructed in any type of design, workmanship or materials. The building may include alterations or additions that reflect important changes over time as long as those changes convey the period in which the building gains its significance. Alterations to the resource following its period of significance should not detract from features that compellingly convey its integrity of feeling and association. As local African Americans have had a long history of working in the building trades, their participation as architects, contractors, carpenters, craftsmen, brick makers and brick masons, and other tradesmen and professionals in the design and construction of these residential buildings contributes to their significance. In some cases, it might be possible to identify a construction technique or design detail that is associated with a

specific builder or architect. Examples of such techniques or details could be a unique building form; signature employment of exterior building materials, such as stone or brick details; fenestration; or additions and/or outbuildings executed in a style associated with an artisan. Building materials during the period of significance include wood siding, brick, concrete block, concrete stucco, stone, asbestos shingles, and permastone. Aluminum siding, in use since the mid-twentieth century, could arguably be considered historic if it has remained on the building for over 50 years and not adversely impacted fenestration or form. Replacement vinyl siding, where present, should be such that the building's original fenestration and form are discernible at its main block and original extensions, and do not cover exterior design features that identify the building's architectural style, such as brick chimneys, or decorative brick or stone features. Windows during the period of significance included double-hung, casement, and fixed wood sash, with metal casement and fixed sash, glass jalousie windows, and aluminum and glass hopper windows in the mid-twentieth century; however, original windows are a rare find, and appropriate replacement windows or doors that does not alter the building's appearance during the period of significance should be considered. Workmanship and design should be such that the building's original fenestration and form are discernible at its main block, and additions after the period of significance are not disproportionate and do not overwhelm it.

Feeling and Association

As described in National Register Bulletin 15, the characteristic of feeling is "a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time," resulting from cumulative features that convey the property's unique character and place it within its historic context. The closely-related aspect of association is "the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property," such as intact physical features that enable the viewer to make the connection between the resource and its associated historic character. Feeling and association alone cannot support a resource's eligibility; one or more additional aspects of integrity must be present. Thus, any residential resources must be historically associated with African Americans present in Arlington County in the period of significance, and must provide important information on significant historic events, or the lives of Arlington's African Americans in a manner that contributes to our understanding of the county's history and development.

Name of Property Type: Commercial Buildings

Description

Commercial buildings are typically one to two stories in height and of frame or masonry construction. To attract customers, when not within a residence, the building usually features a readily-accessible entrance, large windows to display their goods, an interior space in which to serve customers, and signage to identify the business. When operating from a residence, the business may be housed in an outbuilding on the property, within the house, or, in the case of Majestic Barber Shop, a raised basement story. The type of goods or services provided further dictates the design of these elements. In the case of taxi stands, they are usually sited prominently on a street or corner, with parking spaces for cars and a small office building to maximize car space. Commercial buildings may have evolved over time with alterations or additions as tenants changed or businesses grew. The physical appearance of these resources reflects typical commercial practices and local building traditions rather than any specific cultural influence. The types of goods and services provided by a commercial building, however, reflect the community it served as it responded directly to the specific needs of its residents.

Significance

Commercial buildings represent the need for people to trade goods and services as part of daily life in a community. These resources may be built, owned or operated by African Americans or they may employ or serve them before integration. They may or may not be in African American communities, and sometimes, in the case of Weenie-Beenie, may be within the community but not operated by African Americans. Commercial buildings associated with African Americans in Arlington County are significant as they reflect the efforts of blacks to provide for themselves and establish thriving businesses that could serve their communities. As Arlington County transformed from an agrarian society to a twentieth-century suburb of Washington, D.C., African Americans, who were formerly enslaved, became business owners, trades practitioners, service employees (train porters, janitors, housekeepers), and skilled professionals such as teachers and nurses. In a segregated society where many white-owned businesses would not serve blacks, African Americans established their own businesses to provide goods and services to their own people, or white business owners would locate shops in black communities. Because specific white businesses, such as funeral homes, pharmacies, barbershops, and taxi companies, would not serve African Americans, enterprising black citizens created funeral homes (Chinn's), barbershops (Star's, Majestic), community drug stores (Green Valley Pharmacy), and small taxi companies (Friendly Cab Company) to meet local needs. Commercial establishments in African American neighborhoods were as multi-purposed as their churches and residences; the chairs and ashtray stands lined up outside of Star Barber Shop in 2017 attest to barbershops' continuing power as community gathering spots. In the struggle for equal rights and the integration of schools, white commercial establishments became the stage for non-violent protests during the Civil Rights Movement of the early 1960s. Once equal access and treatment of African Americans in white-owned businesses was attained, many of the African American businesses did not survive.

Registration Requirements

In order for a commercial property to be listed individually or as a contributing resource to a historic district in the National Register, it must have functioned as a black-owned or operated business that provided goods and services to the African American community or as a white-owned business that served African Americans before integration and played a role in the Civil Rights Movement to attain equal access and treatment for blacks. The commercial property must possess architectural or historical significance associated with the provision of goods and services to African Americans in Arlington County between 1880 and 1967. Additionally, the resource must retain sufficient physical integrity to convey its association with this function during the period in which it gained significance.

A commercial resource may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A for its role in providing goods and services to African Americans during segregation. The following commercial buildings significant under Criterion A may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPD:

- Green Valley Pharmacy (1942; P.O.S. 1952-1967), 2415 Shirlington Road. The Green Valley Pharmacy may also be eligible for listing under Criterion B for its association with Leonard Muse, the first African American pharmacist in Arlington County.

- Chinn's Funeral Home (c. 1960; business c. 1900), 2605 S. Shirlington Road

- Star Barber Shop (c. 1962), 2530 S. Shirlington Road

- Weenie Beenie (c. 1950), S. 2680 S. Shirlington Road. The Nauck-area, white-owned business may also be individually eligible under Criterion A due to its role as a restaurant selling regional culinary foods, Criterion B due to its association with famed billiard player and co-founder Bill Staton, and Criterion C due to its mid-century commercial architecture.

- Green Valley Friendly Cab Company (c. 1947), 3022 2nd Street S.

- Majestic Barber Shop (c. 1925), 2319 S. Shirlington Road

A commercial resource may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B for its association with a person of transcendent importance and influence.

A commercial resource may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C if its architecture is a prime example of its era.

Setting and Location

Commercial resources should be located within the geographic boundaries of Arlington County. These resources may be located in residential or commercial areas and may or may not be within the identified boundaries of the African American communities of Green Valley/Nauck, Hall's Hill/High View Park, Johnson's Hill/Arlington View, or Penrose. If located within one of these historic African American neighborhoods, its relationship to that community may strengthen its significance.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship

Commercial resources may be constructed in any type of design, workmanship or materials. The building may include alterations or additions that reflect important changes over time, as long as those changes convey the building's period of significance. For example, as Chinn's Funeral Home has changed exterior elements through the years, from windows to its entrance, and, most recently, its lettered signage, the setting, form, and exterior of the building remain identifiable as Chinn's Funeral Home from the 1960s. As local African Americans have a long history of working in the building trades, their participation as contractors, carpenters, craftsmen, brick makers and brick masons, and other tradesmen, and professionals in the design and construction of these commercial buildings contributes to their significance. Building materials during the period of significance include wood siding, brick, concrete block, concrete stucco, stone, asbestos shingles, and permastone. Aluminum siding, in use since the mid-twentieth century, could arguably be considered historic if it has remained on the building for over 50 years and not adversely impacted fenestration or form. Replacement vinyl siding, where present, should be such that the building's original fenestration and form are discernible at its main block and original extensions, and do not cover exterior design features that identify the building's architectural style, such as brick chimneys, or decorative brick or stone features, nor features such as signage that identifies the building as commercial. Windows during the period of significance included fixed multi-pane and single-pane display storefront glass windows; double-hung, casement, and fixed wood sash, with metal casement and fixed sash; and aluminum and glass hopper windows in the mid-twentieth century. However, original windows are a rare find, and appropriate replacement windows or doors that does not alter the building's appearance during the period of significance should be considered. Workmanship and design should be such that the building's original fenestration and form are discernible at its main block, and additions after the period of significance are not disproportionate and do not overwhelm it.

Feeling and Association

Commercial resources must be associated historically with the activity of providing goods or services to African Americans in Arlington County between 1880 and 1967. The commercial building may be built, owned, or operated by African Americans between 1880 and 1967; or it may have been a white-owned or operated business that served African Americans in their neighborhood, or served as the location of a non-violent protest during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. As described in National Register Bulletin 15, the characteristic of feeling is "a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time," resulting from cumulative features that convey the property's unique character and place it within its historic context. The closely-related aspect of association is "the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property," such as intact physical features that enable the viewer to make the connection between the resource and its associated historic character. Feeling and association alone cannot support a resource's eligibility; one or more additional aspects of integrity must be present. Thus, any commercial resources must be historically associated with African Americans present in Arlington County in the period of significance, and must provide important information on significant historic events, or the lives of Arlington's African Americans in a manner that contributes to our understanding of the county's history and development

Name of Property Type: Educational Resources

Description

Because they were public facilities, schools and administration buildings were often designed by the state architect, an architect by contract. or as could be the case with Rosenwald schools, through prepared plans transmitted by the company. African American schools have smaller footprints and fewer amenities and details than their white counterparts. These educational resources are typically one or two stories and constructed of brick or masonry block with a brick veneer. The school buildings usually feature a public entrance with several double-leaf doors on the primary elevation; banks of large windows to provide natural light to the classrooms; and "blocks" at the center, rear or side for the large volumes of space associated with cafeterias, gymnasiums, and auditoriums. The school property may also include ancillary buildings for vocational training, playgrounds, and athletic fields or ball courts.

Significance

Educational resources, including schools and administration buildings, represent the effort by African Americans and the county to provide education to the black community. Schools and churches were typically the first institutions to be established in a community. The first school for African Americans was the Freedman's School, established during the Civil War in Freedman's Village. With the closing of Freedman's Village in the late nineteenth century, schools were often located initially in the churches that were built or relocated in the newly-established African American communities. After the 1870 establishment of a public school system in Virginia, school construction, for the most part, became the responsibility of the county. As respective counties generally spent more on white schools, early schools for blacks were typically one-room, frame buildings.

School facilities for blacks began to improve in the 1920s as grants from the Rosenwald Fund for new schools or additions for pre-existing schools required minimum standards for the first time. Arlington's three Rosenwald schools, Kemper, Jefferson (Hoffman-Boston), and Langston were unique in that they were all brick, two-story, six-to-eight-teacher plan buildings, where most Rosenwald schools were one-story frame

buildings with three to four classrooms. Of these three, only Hoffman-Boston School remains, its earlier section encased in successive extensions. Fisk University, which maintains archives of Rosenwald-funded schools, does not have information regarding who the original architect/s of Kemper, Langston, or Hoffman-Boston schools were, but further research in Arlington County's School Board records may identify the architect.

In spite of Rosenwald schools helping to raise standards in terms of building quality, African American schools continued to be overcrowded and with facilities inferior to white schools. In the 1940s and 1950s improvements were made to African American schools in Virginia in an effort to preserve the "separate but equal" justification for a segregated school system. During the period, new schools were constructed, or large additions were made to existing schools to provide additional classrooms as well as amenities such as cafeterias, gymnasiums, libraries, auditoriums, and vocational training facilities.

Educational resources associated with the education of African Americans in Arlington County are significant as they represent the desires of blacks to achieve self-improvement through education and the efforts of the county to provide this. With the establishment of the public education system in Virginia in 1870, schools, along with churches, were often the first institutions established in new communities. As most residents either attended or were related to someone who attended school, the schools served as a physical and social anchor for the community. This connection was strengthened by the fact that most African American schools in Arlington County served all grade levels until the early 1930s when the Hoffman-Boston School was expanded to provide high school education. It would serve as the only high school for blacks in the county until schools were first integrated in 1959 and fully integrated in 1973.

As a public facility, the quality of school buildings for African Americans from 1870 to 1950 reflected Virginia's then-attitude towards minority education; educational facilities in African American neighborhoods were significantly inferior to their counterparts for white students. The improvement of school facilities for blacks during the first half of the twentieth century was dictated by standards associated with grants from the Rosenwald Fund in the 1920s and 1930s. In the years leading up to the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* and during Virginia's strategy of Massive Resistance (1954-1959), school construction and improvements were made as part of an effort to preserve the "separate but equal" justification for segregated schools. As a suburb of Washington, D.C., many Arlington County residents preferred to integrate the public schools rather than close the system. The county's school administration also supported integrating the schools rather than funding a dual system. Arlington County was one of four localities targeted by the NAACP to file court cases challenging school segregation. On February 2, 1959, four black students were admitted to Stratford Junior High School, making it the first public school in Virginia to become integrated. [425] Arlington County continued to integrate its schools over the next decade and became fully integrated in 1971 after introducing the policy of bussing students to schools outside their neighborhoods. Many of the former African American schools were converted to magnet schools, with specialized programs to attract students outside the neighborhood, or to community centers.

Registration Requirements

In order for an educational resource to be listed individually or as a contributing resource to a historic district in the National Register, it must be associated with the provision of education to African Americans in Arlington County between 1920 and 1967. An educational resource may include a school, church, house, or

[425] County, "Stratford School Historic District Designation."

administration building. Eligible resources must possess architectural or historical significance related to the history and evolution of African American education. Additionally, the resource must retain sufficient physical integrity to convey this significance during the period in which it functioned as an educational facility.

An educational resource may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A as they represent efforts by African Americans and the county to provide education to the black community as well as the role of a school in the development of a community. Additionally, resources may be eligible under Criterion A for their role in the Civil Rights Movement and the integration of schools. The following educational resources significant under Criterion A for Education and Black Ethnic Heritage may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPD:

- Stratford Junior High School (1950), 4100 Vacation Lane (VLR 12/3/2003, NRHP 2/26/2004, local HD 6/21/2016)

- Hoffman-Boston Junior-Senior High School (c. 1931; 1953; 1959; 1975), 1415 S. Queen Street

- Hoffman-Boston Vocational School also known as the Little Red Schoolhouse (c.1936-1940), behind 1415 S. Queen Street

An educational resource may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B if it is associated with African Americans of transcendent importance.

An educational resource may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C as an example of school design and its evolution.

Setting and Location

Educational resources should be located within the geographic boundaries of Arlington County. These resources may be located in residential or commercial areas and may or may not be within the identified boundaries of the African American communities of Green Valley/Nauck, Hall's Hill/High View Park, Johnson's Hill/Arlington View, or Penrose. If located within one of these historic African American neighborhoods, its relationship to that community may strengthen its significance. Educational resources that are significant for their role in the integration of the county's school system during the Civil Rights Movement may be located in historically white communities.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship

Educational resources may be constructed in any type of design, workmanship or materials. School buildings should exhibit design elements directly connected to its function as a school – such as a primary entrance with double-leaf doors to accommodate large numbers of students; banks of windows that provide natural light to classrooms; and an interior plan with wide corridors, classrooms, and large spaces for assembling students. The building may include alterations or additions that reflect important changes over time as long as those changes convey the period in which the building gained its significance. In the case of the Hoffman-Boston School, successive changes have concealed much of the building's 1931 core, which is still partly visible on the building's west elevation, but the school's initial design features (pilasters, windows) have been carefully incorporated into much of the school's later additions. Building materials for schools during the period of significance include wood siding, brick, concrete block, and stone. Aluminum siding, in use since the mid-

twentieth century, could arguably be considered historic if it has remained on the building for over 50 years and not adversely impacted fenestration or form. Replacement vinyl siding, where present, should be such that the building's original fenestration and form are discernible at its main block and original extensions, and do not cover exterior design features that identify the building's architectural style, such as brick chimneys, entrance bays, or decorative brick or stone features. Windows during the period of significance included double-hung, casement, and fixed wood sash, with metal casement and fixed sash, and aluminum and glass hopper windows in the mid-twentieth century; however, original windows are a rare find, and appropriate replacement windows or doors that does not alter the building's appearance during the period of significance should be considered. Workmanship and design should be such that the building's original fenestration and form are discernible at its main block, and additions after the period of significance are not disproportionate and do not overwhelm it.

Feeling and Association

Educational resources must be associated historically with the activity of providing education to African Americans in Arlington County during the period of significance. Additionally, the resource must retain sufficient physical integrity to convey this historic association during the period in which it gained significance. As described in National Register Bulletin 15, the characteristic of feeling is "a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time," resulting from cumulative features that convey the property's unique character and place it within its historic context. The closely-related aspect of association is "the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property," such as intact physical features that enable the viewer to make the connection between the resource and its associated historic character. Feeling and association alone cannot support a resource's eligibility; one or more additional aspects of integrity must be present. Thus, any educational resources must be historically associated with African Americans present in Arlington County in the period of significance, and must provide important information on significant historic events, or the lives of Arlington's African Americans relating to education in a manner that contributes to our understanding of the county's history and development

Name of Property Type: Civic Resources

Description

Civic resources – such as social or fraternal halls, organizational headquarters, volunteer fire departments, and community centers – provided locations for the social and recreational interactions of African Americans in Arlington County. By their communal nature, they are typically located in historic black communities. These resources may be a building or an informal gathering space. In the case of buildings that serve as meeting halls for social or fraternal organizations, headquarters for community organizations, or recreational facilities, the building may be of any type of design and construction 50 years of age or older but usually features a large interior space where people can assemble to meet or play. Outside gathering areas or recreational facilities, may include equipment – such as bleachers, fencing, basketball goals or swings and other playground equipment – that facilitates group activity. The availability of a public amenity, such as the bench and park area at Hall's Hill Volunteer Fire Station No. 8, creates an unofficial community center as residents gather to visit with one another and exchange information.

Significance

Civic resources are significant as they provided locations for African Americans to gather and interact in a segregated society between 1880 and 1967. In an era when many African Americans in Arlington County did

not own automobiles or telephones, it was important to have such places in the community where they could socialize and support one another. Organizations such as fraternal and sororal societies or the NAACP allowed members to exchange information and organize in support of their special interests as well as support the community with fundraising activities and programs. These organizations also provided valuable opportunities for leadership development. The recreational facilities also promoted the healthy development of the community residents, whether through informal play or organized athletic competitions. Through the social interactions they provided, these civic resources served to develop a strong sense of identity within the African American communities.

Registration Requirements

In order for a civic resource to be listed individually or as a contributing resource to a historic district in the National Register, it must be associated with the provision of a location in Arlington County for African Americans to gather for civic, social, organizational, or recreational interaction during the period 1880 to 1967. A civic resource may be a social or fraternal hall, headquarters for a civic organization, or a recreational facility. It must retain sufficient physical integrity to convey this significance during the period in which it functioned as a civic facility and gained significance.

A civic resource may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A for significance as a facility that promoted the social, organizational, and recreational activities of a community. These resources may also be eligible under Criterion A for their role in promoting the objectives of the Civil Rights Movement within the county. The following civic resources significant under Criterion A may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPD:

- Daughters of Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, Grand Temple (c. 1925),1021 Rolfe Street

- Arlington Branch NAACP (c.1949), 1315 S. Queen Street (this is the same building as the Chester Murray House)

- Neighborhood House, Rock Spring Congregational United Church of Christ (white, c. 1912), 5010 Little Falls Road

- Hall's Hill Fire Station No. 8 (c.1963), 4845 Lee Highway

A civic resource may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B if it is associated with an important member of the African American community.

A civic resource may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C when a resource possesses architectural or design elements specifically related to its function as a civic facility.

Setting and Location

Civic resources should be located within the geographic boundaries of Arlington County. These resources may be located in residential or commercial areas and may or may not be located within the identified boundaries of the African American communities of Green Valley/Nauck, Hall's Hill/High View Park, Johnson's Hill/Arlington View, or Penrose. If located within one of these historic African American neighborhoods, its

relationship to that community may strengthen its significance. Civic resources that are significant for their role in the Civil Rights Movement may be located in historically white communities.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship

Civic resources may be constructed in any type of design, workmanship or materials. The facility should include a large space – whether a meeting room or an outside gathering area – that allows for groups of people to congregate and interact. The facility may include alterations or additions that reflect important changes over time, provided that such changes convey the period in which the building gains its significance. As local African Americans have a long history of working in the building trades, their participation as contractors, carpenters, craftsmen, brick makers and brick masons, and other tradesmen and professionals in the design and construction of these civic facilities contributes to their significance. Building materials during the period of significance include wood siding, brick, concrete block, concrete stucco, stone, asbestos shingles, and permastone. Aluminum siding, in use since the mid-twentieth century, could arguably be considered historic if it has remained on the building for over 50 years and not adversely impacted fenestration or form. Replacement vinyl siding, where present, should be such that the building's original fenestration and form are discernible at its main block and original extensions, and do not cover exterior design features that identify the building's architectural style, such as brick chimneys, or decorative brick or stone features. Windows during the period of significance included double-hung, casement, and fixed wood sash, with metal casement and fixed sash, glass jalousie windows, and aluminum and glass hopper windows in the mid-twentieth century; however, original windows are a rare find, and appropriate replacement windows or doors that do not alter the building's appearance during the period of significance should be considered. Workmanship and design should be such that the building's original fenestration and form are discernible at its main block, and additions after the period of significance are not disproportionate and do not overwhelm it.

Feeling and Association

Civic resources must be associated historically with the activity of providing organized social, fraternal, or recreational interaction among African Americans in Arlington County between 1880 and 1967. Additionally, the resource must retain sufficient physical integrity to convey this historic association during the period in which it gained significance. As described in National Register Bulletin 15, the characteristic of feeling is "a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time," resulting from cumulative features that convey the property's unique character and place it within its historic context. The closely-related aspect of association is "the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property," such as intact physical features that enable the viewer to make the connection between the resource and its associated historic character. Feeling and association alone cannot support a resource's eligibility; one or more additional aspects of integrity must be present. Thus, any civic resources must be historically associated with African Americans present in Arlington County in the period of significance, and must provide important information on significant historic events, or the lives of Arlington's African Americans in a manner that contributes to our understanding of the county's history and development.

Name of Property Type: Sites of Recreation and Entertainment

Description

Recreation centers, playgrounds, and athletic fields are a subset of civic resources in that they also provided locations for social and recreational interactions of African Americans in Arlington County between 1880 and

1967. By their communal nature, they are typically located in historically black communities. These resources include playgrounds, parks, or informal gathering spaces for sports or entertainment. Recreational facilities may be of any type of design and construction 50 years of age or older, usually featuring a large interior space or demarcated outdoor area where people can assemble to meet or play. Outside gathering areas or recreational facilities may include equipment such as bleachers, fencing, basketball goals or swings, and other playground or sports equipment that facilitates group activity.

Significance

Recreational and entertainment facilities are significant as they provided locations for African Americans to gather and interact in a segregated society. In an era when many African Americans in Arlington County did not own automobiles or telephones, it was important to have such places in the community where they could socialize, play, experience music events, and, in those actions, support one another. Organizations such recreational facilities promoted the healthy development of the community's residents, whether through informal play or organized athletic competitions. Through the social and cultural interactions they provided, these resources served to develop and maintain a strong sense of identity within the African American communities.

Registration Requirements

In order for sites of recreation and entertainment to be listed individually or as a contributing resource to a historic district in the National Register, it must be associated with the provision of a location in Arlington County for African Americans to gather for social, cultural, or recreational interaction during the period 1880 to 1967. Eligible resources, such as a baseball field, recreational facility, park, or public swimming pool, must possess architectural or historical significance related to the development and activities of the civic, social, and recreational organizations in the African American communities. Additionally, the resource must retain sufficient physical integrity to convey this significance during the period in which it functioned as a recreational facility and gained significance.

Sites of recreation and entertainment may be eligible for under Criterion A for significance as a facility that promoted the social, organizational, and recreational activities of a community that otherwise did not have access. These resources may also be eligible under Criterion A for their role in promoting the objectives and organizing the activities of the Civil Rights Movement within the county. The following civic resources significant under Criterion A may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPD:

- Jennie Dean Playground and Ballfields (c.1949), 3630 27th Street S.
- Veteran's Memorial YMCA (c. 1949), 3440 22nd Street S.
- Carver Community Center (c. 1950; 1960s), 1415 S. Queen Street (attached to east wing of Hoffman-Boston School, access via 13th Road South)

Sites of recreation and entertainment may be eligible under Criterion B if it is associated with an important member of the African American community such as Ernest Johnson, first Superintendent of African American Parks and Recreation and leader of first black Boy Scout Troop in the county.

Sites of recreation and entertainment may be eligible under Criterion C where a resource possesses a historic landscape or design elements specifically related to its function as a recreational facility. It may also be eligible under Criterion C for significance in the area of architecture.

Setting and Location

Recreational and entertainment resources should be located within the geographic boundaries of Arlington County. These resources may be located in residential or commercial areas and may or may not be located within the identified boundaries of the African American communities of Green Valley/Nauck, Hall's Hill/High View Park, Johnson's Hill/Arlington View, or Penrose. If located within one of these historic African American neighborhoods, its relationship to that community may strengthen its significance.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship

Recreational and entertainment resources may be constructed in any type of design, workmanship or materials. The facility should include a large space – whether a meeting room or an outside gathering area – that allows for groups of people to congregate and interact. The facility may include alterations or additions that reflect important changes over time, provided that such changes convey the period in which the building gains its significance. Building materials during the period of significance include wood siding, brick, concrete block, concrete stucco, stone, asbestos shingles, and permastone. Aluminum siding, in use since the mid-twentieth century, could arguably be considered historic if it has remained on the building for over 50 years and not adversely impacted fenestration or form. Replacement vinyl siding, where present, should be such that the building's original fenestration and form are discernible at its main block and original extensions, and do not cover exterior design features that identify the building's architectural style, such as brick chimneys, or decorative brick or stone features. Windows during the period of significance included double-hung, casement, and fixed wood sash, with metal casement and fixed sash, glass jalousie windows, and aluminum and glass hopper windows in the mid-twentieth century; however, original windows are a rare find, and appropriate replacement windows or doors that do not alter the building's appearance during the period of significance should be considered. Generally, windows found with recreational facilities are designed to withstand repeated use and the elements of weather and climate. Workmanship and design should be such that the building's original fenestration and form are discernible at its main block, and additions after the period of significance are not disproportionate and do not overwhelm it. Landscape is an important component of this category, and should include graded areas for interactive sports, and natural landscaping for parks and trails.

Feeling and Association

Recreational and entertainment resources must be associated historically with the activity of providing organized social, cultural, or recreational interaction among African Americans in Arlington County between 1880 and 1967. Additionally, the resource must retain sufficient physical integrity to convey this historic association during the period in which it gained significance. As described in National Register Bulletin 15, the characteristic of feeling is "a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time," resulting from cumulative features that convey the property's unique character and place it within its historic context. The closely-related aspect of association is "the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property," such as intact physical features that enable the viewer to make the connection between the resource and its associated historic character. Feeling and association alone cannot support a resource's eligibility; one or more additional aspects of integrity must be present. Thus, any recreational

resources must be historically associated with African Americans present in Arlington County in the period of significance, and must provide important information on significant historic events, or the lives of Arlington's African Americans in a manner that contributes to our understanding of the county's history and development.

Name of Property Type: Objects

Description: Boundary Marker SW-9 (Benjamin Banneker Marker)

A series of stone boundary markers served to delineate geographic boundaries in Arlington County at the turn of the nineteenth century. Forty markers (ten of which are located in Arlington County) composed of Aquia Creek sandstone were used at intervals to mark the ten-mile square outline of the newly-designated District of Columbia in 1791-1792. The design, construction, and materials of these boundary markers reflect the purpose and period of their construction.

Significance

Boundary markers are significant as they were early delineators for geographic boundaries between Fairfax County (in which this object and its surrounding site was then located) and the nation's capital. The ten boundary stones within Arlington County, established by Andrew Ellicott and Benjamin Banneker in 1791 to delineate the boundary of the new District of Columbia, represent the time when the county was part of the District. Benjamin Banneker (1731-1806), a free black from Oella, Maryland (near present-day Ellicott City), was an adept amateur mathematician whose 1780s friendship with mill owner George Ellicott proved transformative; Ellicott loaned Banneker astronomical texts and instruments in 1789. After attempting to publish an almanac in 1790, Banneker came to the attention of another Ellicott, George Ellicott's cousin Andrew (1754-1820), who hired him to assist with surveying the District of Columbia territory. Due to Banneker's skill with astronomy, Ellicott ceded those tasks to him and took on the physical survey of the territory. Banneker, who was an amateur clockmaker, also maintained Ellicott's clock that related points on the ground to specific astronomical features. Once the first survey marker was sited at Jones Point, Banneker returned to his Maryland home where he continued to compile astronomical data, including projected eclipses, until his death in 1806.

Registration Requirements

Boundary markers considered for listing in the National Register must be associated with either the work of an African American, commemoration of an African American associated with the act or event, or the boundaries of an African American neighborhood in Arlington County during the period of significance. Eligible resources must possess architectural or historical significance related to the delineation of geographic boundaries in the county. Additionally, the resource must retain sufficient physical integrity to convey this significance during the period in which it functioned as a boundary marker and gained significance. A boundary marker, such as a stone, metal, ceramic, wood, or other object, may be eligible for listing as a contributing object within a historic district or it may be eligible for individual listing in the National Register. Boundary markers may be eligible for listing under Criterion A for significance as a geographic and political boundary associated with the establishment of Alexandria County of the District of Columbia in 1791. The boundary marker may also be eligible under Criterion B for its association with a specific individual, such as Benjamin Banneker, whose achievements warrant special recognition. Finally, a boundary marker may be eligible under Criterion C for its high level of artistic design or workmanship.

The following object related to themes within the MPD was previously listed in the NRHP and NHL:

- Southwest 9 Intermediate Boundary Stone (c. 1791), Benjamin Banneker Park, 18th Street North and N. Van Buren Street (NRHP 1976/NHL 1976). A series of stone boundary markers served to delineate geographic boundaries in Arlington County at the turn of the nineteenth century. Forty markers (ten of which are located in Arlington County) composed of Aquia Creek sandstone were used, at intervals, to mark the ten-mile square outline of the newly-designated District of Columbia in 1791-1792. The design, construction, and materials of these boundary markers reflect the purpose and period of their construction. The amateur astronomer Benjamin Banneker was only involved with preliminary siting and survey for the markers, but the SW9 marker in Arlington was named in his honor when the markers were first listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1976, and then in 1980 when the markers were designated as a National Historic Landmark.[1]

Setting and Location

Boundary markers considered for listing in the National Register should be located within the geographic boundaries of Arlington County at their present locations. Most were protected by enclosing them within a fence by the Daughters of the American Revolution between 1915 and 1920. For example, Boundary Marker SW-9 has been enclosed since 1916 by an iron bar fence installed by the Gichener Iron Works Company, measuring 3’ x 3’ in width and length, and 5’ in height.[426]

Design, Materials, and Workmanship

The boundary marker to be considered for eligibility is one of the ten markers within Arlington County composed of Aquia Creek sandstone, or a replacement that is a close facsimile. Workmanship and design should be such that the marker remains intact and discernible, and surrounding additions after the period of significance are not disproportionate and do not overwhelm it.

Feeling and Association

The boundary marker is associated historically with the planning of the District of Columbia and the early development of Arlington County, Virginia, between 1790 and 1792. The resource must retain sufficient physical integrity to convey this historic association during the period, and its setting should remain as close to rural and undeveloped as feasible.

Name of Property Type: Structure

Description: Segregation Walls

Segregation walls in Arlington’s Hall’s Hill neighborhood were created to separate an African American neighborhood from surrounding white neighborhoods. These walls were built in sections by residents in the 1930s at the northern boundary of a white development, Woodlawn Village, dividing it from the African

[426] National Capital Planning Commission Bicentennial Report, “Boundary Markers of the Nation’s Capital: A Proposal for Their Preservation and Protection (Washington, D.C.: 1976),” 37-39.

American community in Hall's Hill/High View Park to the north. The walls, where extant, consist of cinder blocks with some later (c. 1960s) vertical wood fencing.

Significance

This physical barrier represented racial prejudice that was socially acceptable among whites during the Jim Crow era of segregation and is a rare historic example of a racially-motivated barrier. It was not until the integration of Arlington schools in the 1950s and 1960s that a section of the walls was removed to allow school children from Hall's Hill/High View Park to walk to Woodlawn Elementary School in the adjacent white neighborhood. The walls, which were initially built along three sides of the black neighborhood in the 1930s, attempted to contain and screen the black-occupied properties from the properties of the surrounding white subdivisions.

Registration Requirements

In order for segregation walls to be listed individually or as a contributing resource to a historic district in the National Register, include all of the extant basic structural elements. Parts of structures cannot be considered eligible if the whole structure remains. Eligible resources of this context must possess architectural or historical significance related to boundaries in the county imposed by the social separation of minorities between 1880 and 1967, particularly in the Jim Crow era of 1890-1964. Additionally, the resource must retain sufficient physical integrity to convey this significance during the period in which it functioned as an obstructive wall.

Walls may be eligible for listing under Criterion A for significance as a racial barrier during the era of segregation; under Criterion B for its association with a specific individual whose historic achievements warrant special recognition; or under Criterion C for its high level of artistic design or workmanship.

The following structure may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPD:

- Segregation Wall (Extant Section) in Hall's Hill neighborhood (c. 1930), West of 17th Road North and N. Culpeper Street's northwest intersection, along the north lot lines of 17th Road North Properties to just east of the N. Edison Street intersection.

Setting and Location

The segregation walls should remain in its Hall's Hill/High View current location and setting, as described in Registration Requirements.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship

The segregation walls, now a symbolic, non-functional structure, may be composed of a variety of materials such as cinder block, cement mortar, and wood pickets. Workmanship and design should be such that the structure's form is discernible, and additions after the period of significance are not disproportionate and do not overwhelm it.

Feeling and Association

Structures must be associated historically with the activity of delineating a boundary for an area occupied by African Americans in Arlington County between 1930 and 1967, during the social segregation era referred to as Jim Crow. Additionally, the resource must retain sufficient physical integrity to convey this historic association during the period.

Name of Property Type: Churches

Description

Churches are typically one-story with a large, open worship space on the interior that gives the building greater height. Built of frame or masonry construction of either concrete block or stone, the church is typically rectangular in plan with either one large or paired double-leaf entrances at one end and windows spaced along either side elevation. A vertical feature - such as a gable end, belfry or spire - serves to identify the church and its large, interior worship space. Windows and transoms may include leaded or stained glass. The early churches dated to the late-nineteenth or early-twentieth century and were typically vernacular as they were usually constructed by the members, many of whom were employed in the building trades. In many cases, these earlier churches were later replaced in the early to mid-twentieth century with a new church that was designed by an architect in a particular style. These later churches, which often included educational wings, were typically designed in the Gothic-Revival or Colonial-Revival style and are similar to churches found throughout the county. In some cases, a church property may include a cemetery.

Significance

Churches are significant resources in the African American community as they represent the religious freedom to gather and worship. This communal activity dates back to the earliest days when groups of enslaved people gathered together, usually secretly, on the rural properties of their owners. Prior to the Civil War, African American in Arlington County attended church in the present-day City of Alexandria where there was a more concentrated community of free blacks. The first black churches established in the county were located in Freedman's Village during and immediately after the Civil War. Typically, congregations started as a small group that gathered to worship in a member's home before building a sanctuary. With the closing of Freedman's Village, respective congregations relocated to land that became available for purchase by blacks. In some cases, the original church building was physically relocated to the new site. As church congregations grew, the church building was either expanded to accommodate a larger worship space and/or educational facilities or replaced entirely. In some cases, the church property includes a cemetery.

The three oldest African American congregations in Arlington County – Lomax AME Zion Church, Mt. Zion Baptist Church, and Mt. Olive Baptist Church – date to the establishment of Freedman's Village during the Civil War. They served as schools before public schools for blacks were built and continued to provide education through their Sunday School programs and night classes for adults. In addition to their religious role within the African American community, churches provided an opportunity for their members to develop as leaders. Members became active in the community as they participated in various groups and projects sponsored by the church. The African American churches also served as a meeting place for civic and community organizations. Both black and white churches in Arlington County were active in the Civil Rights Movement. The ministers and leaders of churches were often active in organizations such as the NAACP and the SCLC led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The churches provided a meeting place for activists as well as a relatively safe

place for early efforts at integration through inter-racial discussion groups, bible schools, and recreational programs.

Registration Requirements

In order for a religious property to be listed individually or as a contributing resource to a historic district in the National Register, it must be associated historically with the practice of religious, political, or social gatherings, which included African Americans in Arlington County between 1880 and 1967.

A church may be listed individually provided that it meets Criteria Consideration A: for a "religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance."

A church may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A for their role in the development of a community or, for example, their role in the Civil Rights Movement.

A church may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B?

A church may be individually eligible for listing under Criterion C for significance in the area of architecture. In addition to possessing historical or architectural significance, the property must retain sufficient physical integrity to convey this significance during the period in which it was attained.

The following churches related to themes within the MPD were previously listed in the NRHP:

- Lomax AME Zion Church and Cemetery (c. 1922), 2704 24th Road S. (Local Historic District 1984; NRHP 2004)

- Unitarian Universalist Church (white, c. 1964), 4444 Arlington Boulevard (NRHP 2014). This white church sponsored interracial summer camps, community meetings, and founded the Community Council for Social Progress in 1951. Many members participated in Civil Rights Movement protests. It was originally only listed under Criterion C for architecture.

The following churches significant under Criteria A and C may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPD:

- Mt. Zion Baptist Church (c. 1945), 3500 19th Street S.

- Mt. Olive Baptist Church (rebuilt 1942), 1601 13th Road S.

- Our Lady Queen of Peace Catholic Church (c.1947), 2700 19th Street S.

Setting and Location

Religious resources should be located within the geographic boundaries of Arlington County. These resources may be located in residential or commercial areas and may or may not be within the identified boundaries of the African American communities of Green Valley/Nauck, Hall's Hill/High View Park, Johnson's Hill/Arlington View, or Penrose. If located within one of these historic African American neighborhoods, its relationship to that community may strengthen its significance. Religious properties that are significant for their role in the

Civil Rights Movement may be associated with historically-white congregations and located in historically white communities.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship

Religious resources may be constructed in any type of design, workmanship or materials. The building may include alterations or additions that reflect important changes over time, as long as those changes convey the period in which the building gains its significance; otherwise, alterations should be minor features that do not profoundly detract from the building's form or sanctuary fenestration. As Arlington County's African Americans have a long history of working in the building trades, their participation as contractors, carpenters, craftsmen, brick makers and brick masons, and other tradesmen and professionals in the design and construction of these religious buildings contributes to their significance. One example of this is Lomax A.M.E. Zion Church (NRHP and local historic district)), whose principal builders were carpenter Thomas West, bricklayer Leonard Gray, and artisan Willard Gant. Churches designed by architects (R. C. Archer, Mt. Olive Baptist Church and Mount Zion Baptist Church; Charles M. Goodman, Unitarian Universalist Church of Arlington) should retain exterior cladding and decoration.

Building materials during the period of significance include wood siding, brick, concrete block, concrete stucco, stone, asbestos shingles, precast concrete, and permastone. Aluminum siding, in use since the mid-twentieth century, could arguably be considered historic if it has remained on the building for over 50 years and not adversely impacted fenestration or form. Replacement vinyl siding, where present, should be such that the building's original fenestration and form are discernible at its main block and original extensions, and do not cover exterior design features that identify the building's architectural style, such as brick chimneys, or decorative brick or stone features. Windows during the period of significance included double-hung, casement, and fixed wood sash, with metal casement and fixed sash, glass jalousie windows, and aluminum and glass hopper windows in the mid-twentieth century; however, original windows are a rare find, and appropriate replacement windows or doors that do not alter the building's appearance during the period of significance should be considered. Where churches are concerned, fenestration on the main sanctuary block is particularly important, as it identifies the building as a religious resource; fenestration forms include rectangular, pointed-arch, round-arch and lancet-arch window openings filled by opalescent stained glass; clear stained glass; frosted glass; pressed stained glass; or clear glass sash. Replacement windows are sometimes opaque stained glass, chosen for the congregation's security and privacy. Primary entrances can be filled by single leaf or double leaf paneled wood, hollow-core metal, or glass-and-metal swing doors, often with an overhead transom. Workmanship and design should be such that the building's original fenestration and form are discernible at its main block, and additions after the period of significance are not disproportionate and do not overwhelm it.

Feeling and Association

The religious resource must be associated historically with the activity of religious worship by African Americans in Arlington County during the period of significance or with activities associated with the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s. As described in National Register Bulletin 15, the characteristic of feeling is "a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time," resulting from cumulative features that convey the property's unique character and place it within its historic context. The closely-related aspect of association is "the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property," such as intact physical features that enable the viewer to make the connection between the resource and its associated historic character. Feeling and association alone cannot support a resource's

eligibility; one or more additional aspects of integrity must be present. Thus, any religious resources must be historically associated with African Americans present in Arlington County in the period of significance, and must provide important information on significant historic events, or the lives of Arlington's African Americans in a manner that contributes to our understanding of the county's history and development.

Name of Property Type: Cemeteries and Graves

Description

Cemeteries and graves associated with African Americans in Arlington County may be private – such as one associated with a family, a plantation, or a church – or a public cemetery such as Arlington National Cemetery. African American graves may represent the majority of burials in these cemeteries or they may be located in a designated section. The cemetery, section, family plot, or individual grave may be delineated by a wall, fence, or plantings. The gravestones may have decorative embellishments, such as embedded tiles or shells, or inscriptions that relate to the person's ethnic origin, religious affiliation, or social status. In some cases, the graves may not be marked.

Significance

Cemeteries associated with African Americans in Arlington County are significant as they reflect culture's attitude towards death. The location and way someone is buried can make a lasting statement regarding their personal status as well as familial, social, and religious affiliations. In the case of enslaved people, the location of their grave relative to their owner's may provide information regarding their owner's attitude towards slavery, the position held by the enslaved person, and the relationship with his or her owner. The private cemetery of an African American family would indicate that the family owned their own land at a time when the county was still primarily rural and free blacks owning land was relatively rare. The most common examples of cemeteries associated with African Americans in the county were those associated with churches. As churches provide the framework for people to practice their religious belief in life and death, it was natural for cemeteries to be associated with churches. Given the central role churches and their members played in establishing the early African American communities, the graves contained in the church cemeteries are directly related to the history of that community with many of its founding members and leading citizens buried there. There were also private cemeteries associated with fraternal organizations such as the Odd Fellows Cemetery, which has been moved.

African American burials are also found at Arlington National Cemetery. Established in 1864 on 200 acres of the former Custis-Lee plantation at Arlington House, the national cemetery provided grave sites for those who had served their country. A total of 404 African American soldiers who died while fighting for the Union Army were buried with "U.S.C.T" inscribed on their gravestones for "United States Colored Troops." The cemetery also provided burials for impoverished African Americans, including many of the contraband of Freedman's Village, which was also located on lands of the former Arlington estate. More than 3,000 African American civilians were buried between 1864 and 1867 in what is known today as Section 27. A number of notable African Americans are also buried at Arlington Cemetery for their significant contributions to the nation. These include Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, heavyweight boxing champion Joe Lewis, slain Civil-Rights activist Medgar Evers, military leader Charles Young, and Mathew Henson, co-explorer under Robert Peary's expedition of the North Pole. Several black military leaders who broke color barriers in various branches of the

Armed Forces are also buried there. Prior to the cemetery's integration as a federal public facility in 1948, African Americans were buried in designated sections of the cemetery.[427]

Registration Requirements

In order for a cemetery or grave site to be listed individually or as a contributing resource to a church or historic district in the National Register, it must be associated with historic contexts discussed above and date between settlement and 1967.

A cemetery must be associated historically with the burial of a group of people of African descent and may include Euro Americans or Native Americans known to be a part of an African or African American family. A cemetery may be listed individually provided it meets Criteria Consideration D: "A cemetery that derives its primary importance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events." [428]

A grave must be associated with a person of African descent or a Euro-American or Native American known to be a part of an African or African American family. A single grave or burial may be listed individually if it meets Criteria Consideration C: "A grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no appropriate site or building associated with his or her productive life."[429]

A cemetery or grave may be eligible for listing under Criterion A for their role in the development of a community; Criterion B for association with a specific individual; Criterion C for significance in the area of architecture or landscape architecture; or Criterion D if they have yielded or may yield information important to African American history in Arlington. In addition to possessing historical or architectural significance, the property must retain sufficient physical integrity to convey this significance during the period in which it was attained.

The following cemeteries related to themes within the MPD were previously listed in the NRHP:

- Arlington National Cemetery (NRHP, NHL 1995)

- Lomax AME Zion Church Cemetery (c. 1922), 2704 24th Road S. (Partially designated a Local Historic District 1984, NRHP 2004)

The following cemeteries significant under Criterion A for Black Ethnic Heritage may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPD:

- Calloway United Methodist Church Cemetery (c. 1891-1959), 5000 Lee Highway (Local Historic District 2012)

- Mount Salvation Baptist Church Cemetery (c. 1900-1980), 1961 N. Culpeper Street

[427] ANC, 2016
[428] National Register Bulletin 15
[429] ibid

The following African American cemeteries were moved during a period when disinterment practices were not refined and may merit further investigation in the future:

- Syphax Family Cemetery (nineteenth century) moved from present-day Henderson Hall, 415 Carpenter Road, Fort Myer to Lincoln Memorial Cemetery in Suitland, Maryland in 1944.

- Hick's Family Cemetery moved from Lee Highway west of Glebe Road to Herndon in 1959 for the widening of Lee Highway.

- Odd Fellow's Hall Cemetery (c. 1892), containing approximately 700 burials, moved from 1600 Columbia Pike to Coleman Cemetery in Fairfax County in 1968 after the Odd Fellow's Hall burned.

Setting and Location

Cemeteries and grave sites should be located within the geographic boundaries of Arlington County. If located within one of the historic African American neighborhoods, its relationship to that community may strengthen its significance. Calloway, Lomax, and Mount Salvation cemeteries have plantings introduced by the decedents' families such as small shrubs, liriope, and yucca plants that contribute to the sites' sense of place.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship

Cemeteries and grave sites may be constructed in any type of design, workmanship, or materials. The cemeteries surveyed contain unmarked graves and a range of grave markers, from broken, uninscribed fieldstones and inscribed or stamped cast-concrete markers to engraved marble and granite tombstones, plus remnants of more vernacular design and materials, such as the impressed glass and seashell decoration in one Mount Salvation Cemetery marker. The cemeteries may include alterations or additions that reflect important changes over time, so long as those changes convey the period in which the cemetery achieved its significance. As local African Americans have a long history of working in the building trades, their participation as contractors, carpenters, craftsmen, brick makers and brick masons, and other tradesmen and professionals in the design and construction of the cemetery contributes to its significance.

If listed under Criterion D, they may be previously disturbed as long as enough material culture survives in order to answer research questions.

Feeling and Association

A cemetery must be associated historically with the burial of a group of people of African descent. A grave may be associated with a person of African descent or a Euro-American or Native American known to be a part of an African or African American family.

Name of Property Type: Historic Archaeological Sites

Description

Historic archeological sites are those that date to the period after Native Americans first had contact with Euro-Americans. Sites include remnants of past cultural activity on the landscape, which can be interpreted to understand historic contexts. Sites include artifacts, features, and ecological evidence. Larger sites and

multicomponent sites may address questions of chronology and changes through time in a region. Single-component sites may provide information regarding daily activities, material culture, socio-economic status, and settlement patterns.

Within this MPD, the following archeological site categories may be considered:

Commerce/Trade
Domestic
Education
Funerary
Government/Law/Political
Healthcare/Medicine
Indeterminate
Industry/Processing/Extraction
Landscape
Military/defense
Recreation/Arts
Religion
Subsistence/Agriculture
Technology/Engineering
Transportation/Engineering

Examples of archeological site types that may be considered within this MPD:

- Camp, temporary (e.g. military, hunting, trailer, labor camps)
- Cemetery or grave site as previously discussed
- Commerce/Trade -related sites (e.g. tavern/inn, store, warehouse)
- Dwelling (single or multiple)
- Farmsteads
- Hospitals
- Indeterminate site types (e.g. refuse scatter)
- Industrial/Processing -related sites (e.g. brickyard, mill, tannery)
- Military-related sites (e.g. camp, fort, earthworks, armory, magazine)
- Schools
- Military-related sites (e.g. camp, fort, earthworks, armory, magazine)
- Transportation-related sites (e.g. roads, sidewalks, wharfs, railroads, boats)
- Village/Town/Settlements, such as Jackson City

Significance

Relatively few documentary records exist regarding early African and African American communities; therefore, most information regarding the settlement period through emancipation may be gained through archeological investigation. While many African American cultural resources were razed and redeveloped between Reconstruction and the Civil Rights Movement, there is potential to find intact sites during 21st-century redevelopment. This is evident in the identification of 30-plus African American sites within the heavily developed City of Alexandria, 40 in Loudoun County, and 68 in Fairfax County.

Only three out of 70 archeological sites documented in Arlington County are identified as having African American cultural affiliations. These are Arlington House, Freedman's Village, and Jackson City.

The site of Abingdon, a house which was built by a slave owner and destroyed by fire in the 1930s, has been recorded and determined eligible, but its connection to African American history has not been explored. This may be true of other documented sites where African Americans possibly worked or lived such as the pre-1800 Dawson-Bailey House (Local Landmark) and c. 1856 Alcova, which are tenant houses associated with families who used enslaved labor.

The Arlington House grounds are associated with African American, Euro-American, and Native-American cultural groups and includes several site types – cemetery, single dwelling, farmstead, and military quarters. The site dates from the statewide contextual periods identified as the Early National Period (1790 - 1829) through Reconstruction and Growth (1866 - 1916).

The Freedman's Village, which was built on the grounds of Arlington House, stood during the Civil War (1861 - 1865) and Reconstruction and Growth (1866 - 1916). The amount of area that is disturbed or destroyed at this site and Arlington House is unknown and both remain unevaluated for National Register eligibility though Arlington House District is listed as previously discussed.

Jackson City was located on the Potomac River at the site of the former Long Bridge. The site is associated with African American and Euro-American cultural groups and dates from the Antebellum Period (1830 - 1860) through Reconstruction and Growth (1866 - 1916), during which time the entire area was intentionally burned in 1904 as part of a Progressive Era effort to clean up what was perceived as a seedy area. Zero to 24 percent of the site is destroyed and it remains unevaluated for National Register eligibility.

Registration Requirements

In order for an archeological site to be listed to be listed individually or as a contributing resource to a historic district in the National Register, they must retain sufficient integrity to be dated within the period of significance from settlement to c. 1925; later sites that include unique or unusual deposits or features may also be considered significant. Archeological research potential typically declines with the rise of the automobile, refuse collection, and off-site refuse disposal.

An archeological site may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A if they have well-preserved features, artifacts, and intra-site patterning in order to illustrate a specific event or pattern of events in history within the historic contexts above.

An archeological site may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B if they are associated with a significant person or group of people of African descent. The accomplishments of an individual must be fully articulated and related to a historic context. In addition, the property must have been associated with the individual when significance was achieved and be the property most closely associated with that individual.

An archeological site may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C if they contain well-preserved features and spatial patterns that inform research questions about design, materials, and workmanship.

An archeological site may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion D if they can answer important research questions about African Americans and their ancestors from the colonial period to 1967. As

noted above, archeological research potential of most sites post-dating the first quarter of the twentieth century is low.

Site Integrity

Each site nominated may have been previously disturbed but must contain sufficient integrity related to preservation of features, artifacts, and spatial relationships to provide sufficient information related to the period of significance and historic contexts discussed above. Though integrity may be compromised at some sites, they may still be eligible under Criterion D due to important information that can be gleaned regarding early African and African American families and communities in Arlington County.

G. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Arlington County, Virginia

H. SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

The MPD is based upon a 2016-2017 reconnaissance-level architectural resources survey of African American neighborhoods and buildings in Arlington County conducted by Mary Ruffin Hanbury and Penne Sandbeck of Hanbury Preservation Consulting. Research design was informed by the previous county surveys conducted by EHT Traceries, Inc. between 1996 and 2013; Local historic district, NRHP, and NHL nominations for properties in Arlington County; studies conducted by students of Richard Longstreth, Ph.D. at American University and history students at George Mason University, and two editions of the educational brochure "A Guide to the African American Heritage of Arlington County, Virginia." This brochure, prepared by Arlington County to highlight prominent African American places and individuals throughout the County, included extensive research and provided invaluable assistance in identifying significant resources.

In addition, Anna Maas of Thunderbird Archeology and Alison Blanton of Hill Studio conducted extensive primary and secondary document research in digital archives, including historically black publications, and at the Arlington County Public Library Center for Local History, the Library of Virginia, Virginia Historical Society, and the Library of Congress. The Center for Local History houses city directories; historic maps; extensive oral history collections; vertical files; the Papers of the Citizens Community for School Improvement (Record Group [RG] 9); the Papers of Edmond C. Fleet (RG 10); the Records of the Neighborhood Civic Association (RG 15); the Personal Papers of Barbara Marx (RG 18); the Papers of Elizabeth Pfohl Campbell (RG 19); the Records of the NAACP Arlington Branch (RG 48); the Arlington County Public Schools Desegregation (RG 69); Green Valley Small Collections (RG102D); and the George Melvin Collection (RG 307). Ms. Maas attended a public presentation on the county's historic black churches to learn more about their history and identify citizens interested in sharing more community stories.

Ms. Maas and Ms. Blanton also reviewed the following collections at the Library of Virginia: Arlington County (Va.) Free Negro and Slave Records, 1788-1866; Arlington County (Va.) Coroners' Inquisitions, 1796-1902; Arlington County (Va.) Judgments (Freedom Suits), 1795-1858, undated; Arlington County (Va.) Book of Records Containing the Marriages and Deaths That Have Occurred Within the Official Jurisdiction of Rev. A. Gladwin Together With Any Biographical or Other Reminiscences That May Be Collected, 1863-1869; Alexandria County (Va.) Superintendent of Schools Records, 1851-1920 (bulk 1870-1884); Alexandria County (Va.) Public School Teachers' Registers, 1892-1907; Jefferson Township (Va.) Board of Public Free Schools Minutes, 1871-1880; Arlington County (Va.) General Registration, 1902-1903; Arlington County (Va.) Record of Ministers' Certificates, 1801-1850. These collections informed much of the pre-emancipation historic context. In addition, the papers of the Lee and Fitzhugh families were reviewed at the Virginia Historical Society.

Survey efforts focused on two neighborhoods, Arlington View and Nauck. Five hundred (500) resources were surveyed at the reconnaissance level from those two communities combined. It is anticipated that this level of survey could support a National Register Historic District nomination. The survey effort involved the description and evaluation of each property's architectural characteristics, photographs taken from the public right of way and completion of a V-CRIS inventory form for each property surveyed. A location map and site plans were generated from the county's GIS records for each resource surveyed. Beyond the two potential historic districts of Nauck and Arlington View, an additional 102 reconnaissance-level surveys were conducted of individual properties located throughout the county. They were identified through primary document research at the Local History Room. This survey effort focused on properties determined to be associated with local

African American individuals and history as well as representative surveys from other historically African American neighborhoods.

The historic context was based on a general understanding of the historic development of Arlington County as well as national trends regarding African Americans in the United States. Within this broad context, information directly related to African Americans in Arlington County was considered in order to develop themes related specifically to the history of African Americans in the county. Given its past as part of the District of Columbia from 1791 to 1846, before retroceding to the southern state of Virginia, and its proximity to the nation's capital, Arlington County has had a conflicted attitude towards the rights of African Americans throughout its history. Another factor that influenced the lives of African Americans was the county's rapid transformation during the first half of the twentieth century from a rural county to a metropolitan suburb of Washington, D.C. without forming its own urban centers. With few exceptions, African Americans in the county tended to settle in communities – whether as enslaved workers on plantations or in their own self-sufficient communities during segregation. Due to these conditions, the county's black communities do not follow traditional settlement patterns.

The African American communities of Arlington County were shaped in their location, size, composition, and density by unusual outside forces. The limited availability of land for blacks to purchase as well as the lack of urban centers in the county led to the development of African American settlements in scattered locations. The Jim Crow laws of the early twentieth century created a segregated society in which these settlements developed (and in some cases, thrived) as self-sufficient communities in the shadow of the much larger and more established African American sections of Washington, D.C. As the county's population increased dramatically with the growing federal workforce during the mid-twentieth century, discriminatory real estate practices combined with increased property values to further restrict the expansion of these communities and increase their density. The historic contexts of the MPD were identified to assist in the understanding of these unique factors and how they influenced the lives of African Americans and the development of their communities in Arlington County.

In consideration of archeological sites, the overall period of significance begins pre-settlement and extends to 1967. These boundary stones, including the ten located in Arlington County, were located by Andrew Ellicott with assistance from Benjamin Banneker, an African American mathematician and astronomer. The period of significance ends in 1967, the 50-year mark as well as the approximate end of the Civil Rights Movement. By 1968, the major Civil Rights laws were in place – including the 1964 passage of the Civil Rights Act, the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the 1965 Executive Order 11246 establishing Affirmative Action (extended to women in 1968), and the Civil Rights Act of 1968 to end housing discrimination – with subsequent efforts shifting towards their implementation and enforcement.

As African Americans tended to settle together in communities – whether in slave quarters of the eighteenth and nineteenth century or in self-sufficient, segregated neighborhoods of the twentieth century – most resources in Arlington County are associated with African American communities. The associated resource types are identified by their function, rather than by appearance in terms of architectural style or date of construction, as they derive their significance from their role in the development of a self-sufficient community in a segregated society. The architectural style, materials and craftsmanship of the resources reflect the vision, personal taste, financial means, and available materials in the same manner as they would for other groups of people of the same period and similar socio-economic status regardless of ethnic association. The resources within each identified type may relate to one or more of the historic contexts and may be considered for individual

eligibility or as a contributing resource within an eligible historic district. The registration requirements for integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association were based on an understanding of the historical conditions in which the resources were built and functioned as well as the current conditions of existing resources.

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